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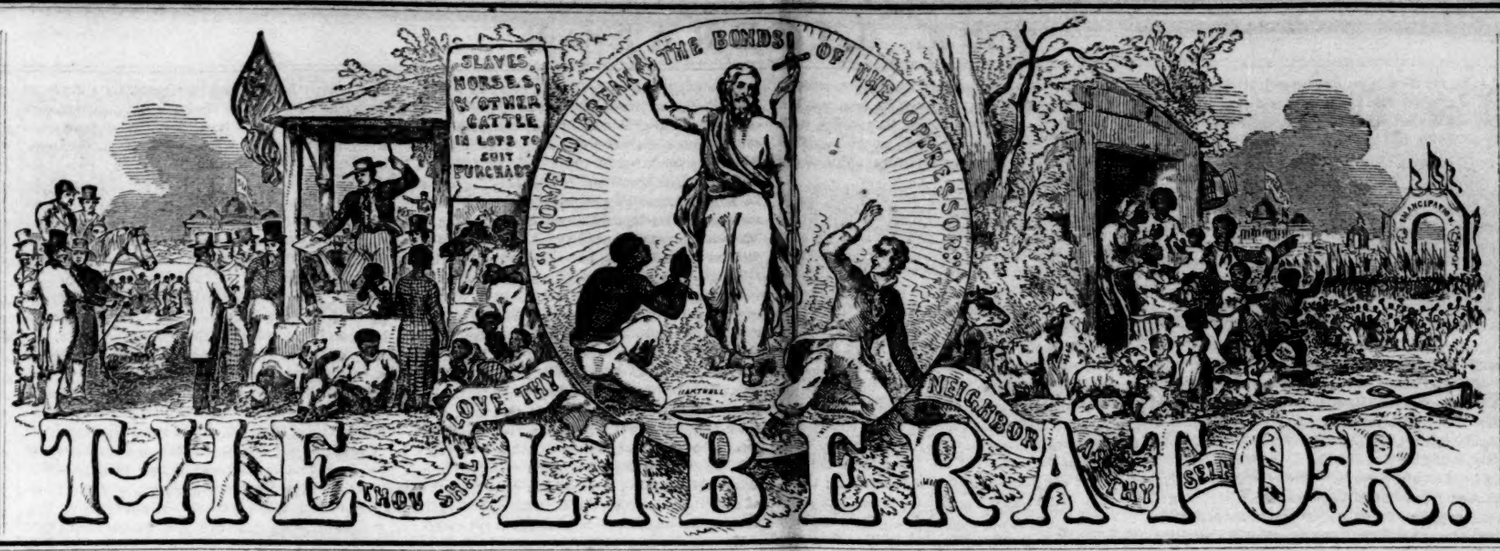
SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE, IS LOTS TO SUIT PURCHASERS
COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSED
LOVE THY NEIGHBOR
THOU SHALT
THY SELF
THE LIBERATOR.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'

☞ 'The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but *they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke.* On this subject, OUR FATHERS, IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and *must walk in it.* To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.' — WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. | Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. | J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Boston Courier.

DISUNION CONVENTION.

Another Disunion Convention is called—the second of the series. The first, it will be remembered, was holden last winter at Worcester. It was called, in reality, by those open, undisguised disunionists and disorganizers, whose boast and whose vocation it has been, for many years, to contemn the Union, and to trample the Constitution under foot. But in this movement there was more than the usual method in the madness of these desperate men. They yielded to expediency—that principle which they of all others affect to hold in supreme contempt—and actually entered into a compromise with the Republicans, so far as to concede, for the purpose of the Convention, that the dissolution of the Union is yet an open question. Republicans accordingly joined them in the assemblage, the object of which was declared to be 'to consider the practicability, probability, and expediency of a separation between the free and slave States.' A Republican presided over the Convention. The value of the Union was discussed. If a cunning policy had not set bounds to the proceedings, who doubts that it would have uttered a unanimous voice for dissolution? A participation in such a Convention presupposes hostility to the Union. To calculate the value of the Union, and to advocate dissolution, are synonymous terms.

This farce is to be re-enacted in October next, previous to the election. A second Convention is called, based upon a spirit of compromise, as before. Republicans are invited to unite in it, with the assurance that a union with disunionists will not necessarily commit them to a disunion of the States. The names of T. W. Higginson, Wendell Phillips, Daniel Mann, William Lloyd Garrison, and F. W. Bird, are appended to the circular. The circular asserts that the results of the first Convention were important; that it established the question of disunion as an open question, and that this 'is a great step.' A great step towards what? Nothing, of course, but that ultimate agreement between the open and the hidden enemies of the Constitution, which shall resolve to 'let the Union slide.' A great blow, it is said, was struck at 'the popular unreasoning idolatry,' that is, the veneration in which the Constitution and Union are held. This blow, we are told, must be repeated. Nothing has yet been accomplished. 'For all our efforts,' the circular declares, 'there is not an inch of truly free soil in the nation!' And much is to be done. 'Not a wrong is yet redressed; Kansas is not yet saved; Sumner is not yet restored; Missouri is not yet freed; Virginia is not yet colonized.'

These are the great issues of the party of freedom; and they are to be brought about by a dissolution of the Union, or, at least, and avowedly, by threatening dissolution, if the 'Slave Power' interposes any further obstacles to their accomplishment. The circular goes on to say:

'It is evident that the mass of Republican voters in many States are becoming more radically anti-slavery. And nothing will do so much to promote that desirable change as the fearless discussion we propose. Undoubtedly, the first object is, to create a united and determined North. But if there is even a chance that the ultimate result of that effort is to be disunion, every one must admit the necessity of being prepared for it.'

We have called this a farce. It may prove a tragedy. There is but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous, and the transition from folly to madness is equally easy. There is a growing laxity of respect for the Union. Public presses, public men, and public assemblages, are gradually training unreflecting and impulsive minds to distrust and undervalue, and finally to despair of it, and give it over to destruction. We may be nearer dissolution than we imagine. A 'Union-saver' is already a term of reproach. It may be at any time too late to stay the vandal hands of Union-destroyers.

The Republicans are invited and expected to join this Disunion Convention. They will do it in large numbers, openly and secretly, in heart if not in voice. The inevitable tendency of modern Republicanism is to disunion. There are thousands in the party who, like Mr. Bird, are almost ready to cry 'Down with the Bastile;' while there are many, no doubt, who will not realize their position till the edifice is tumbling about their heads.

GOV. CHASE AND THE UNION.

Gov. Chase, of Ohio, in reply to Mayor Swann, at a grand banquet to the Western visitors recently given by the city of Baltimore, said—

'You have spoken eloquently, sir, of railroads as bonds of union, and your observations were as just as they were eloquent. No man, conversant with railroads, can be a disunionist. The social intercourse which they foster, the ties of business which they create, the mutual dependence which they establish and exhibit, make disunion impossible. There must, of course, be differences of opinion on some points. Real grievances may from time to time demand redress. But there is no evil of which disunion is the proper cure. And the more we see of each other, the less likely shall we be to commit the error of thinking otherwise. The fact is, that we who live along the line of the American Central Railway don't mean to let this Union be broken up. Maryland will not consent to it, I think. I trust Virginia will not. Ohio, I am sure, will not. Nor Indiana, nor Illinois, nor Missouri. Who, then, will? No, Sir. We may differ henceforth, as we have done heretofore. We will maintain our respective opinions and positions with candor, courtesy, firmness and resolution. And we will refer whatever question may be between us to the great American tribunal of popular discussion and popular judgment. But in time to come, as in the time past, we cleave to the Union as our ark of refuge, and, under God, our surest guarantee of prosperity and power and abiding glory.'

From the Newberry [S. C.] Rising Sun.

NEGROES AND EMANCIPATION.

The New York *Tribune*, the *Liberator*, and other nigger papers, have been long laboring to promote emancipation. They have heaped up lie upon lie, falsehood upon falsehood; and unfortunately have succeeded in hoodwinking and blinding the minds of thousands. They denounce slavery and slaveholders; talk and prate of the liberty and freedom and prosperity of the negro when left to his own control and management. Yet they all talk nonsense. In no instance where a colony of negroes have been left to themselves have they ever prospered.

The free negroes of Belize and Jamaica, (says the correspondent of an exchange,) are far worse off with their freedom; far less comfortable, less happy, and less respectable or respected, than are the slaves in New Orleans. And what is more, Belize is now, and has been for the last ten years, sinking and going down. It has lost the largest part of its trade; its great staple, mahogany and logwood, is nearly all cut out; and aside from sugar, there is nothing to substitute for it. Property is daily decreasing in value.

So far as the habits of the negro are concerned, and his characteristics, they are pretty much the same in every condition and circumstance of life. Slave or free, they are lazy, indolent, and much given to stealing and lying. To wit: recently in the Canadian Parliament, a member by the name of Col. Prince took occasion to say that the negroes in Canada *were extremely demoralized*, and that they should be kept separate from the whites, and not allowed to taint the atmosphere and corrupt white society. This language gave great offence to the 'culled gentlemen of Canada,' who thereupon called an indignation meeting, and adopted resolutions, declaring that the Colonel's charges were false and treacherous in the extreme, and they, the colored citizens, do cast back into the teeth of Col. Prince the foul imputation in his speech. A report of these proceedings has appeared in a Canadian journal. The Colonel addressed the following letter to that journal and the culled gentlemen in that vicinity:

To the Editor of the Colonist:

Your valuable paper of yesterday has afforded me a rich treat, and not a little fun, in a report of an indignation meeting of 'the colored citizens' of Toronto, held for the purpose of censuring me. Perhaps I ought not to notice their proceedings—perhaps it would be more becoming in me to allow them to pass at once into the oblivion which awaits them; but as it is the fashion in this country not unfrequently to assume that to be true which appears in print against an individual, unless he flatly denies the accusation, I shall, at least for once, condescend to notice the absurd proceedings. They deal in generalities, and so shall I.

Of the colored citizens of Toronto, I know little or nothing; no doubt some are respectable enough in their way, and perform the inferior duties belonging to their station tolerably well. Here they are kept in order—in their proper place; but their 'proceedings' are evidence of their natural conceit, their vanity, and their ignorance; and, in them, the cloven foot appears, and evinces what they would do if they could. I believe that in this city, as in some others of our province, they are looked upon as necessary evils, and only submitted to because white servants are so scarce. But I now deal with those fellows as a body, and I pronounce them to be, as such, the greatest curse ever inflicted upon the two magnificent western counties which I have the honor to represent in the legislative council of this province, and few men have had the experience of them that I have.

Among the many estimable qualities they possess, a systematic habit of lying is not the least prominent; and 'colored citizens' aforesaid seem to partake of that quality in an eminent degree, because, in their famous resolutions, they roundly assert that during the rebellion 'I walked arm-in-arm with colored men,' that 'I owe my election to the votes of colored men,' and that I have 'accumulated much earthly gain,' as a lawyer, among 'colored clients.' All lies! lies! false from beginning to end. I admit that one company of blacks did belong to my contingent battalion; but they made the very worst of soldiers, and were, comparatively speaking, unsusceptible of drill or discipline, and were conspicuous for one act only—a stupid sentry shot the son of one of the oldest colonels, under a mistaken notion that he was thereby doing his duty. But I certainly never did myself the honor of 'walking arm-in-arm' with any of the colored gentlemen of that distinguished corps. Then to my election. Few, very few blacks voted for me. I never canvassed them, and hence, I suppose, they supported, as a body, my opponent. They took compassion upon 'a monument of injured innocence,' and they sustained the monument for a while upon the pedestal their influence erected. But the monument fell, and the fall proved that such influence was merely ephemeral, and it sank into insignificant nothingness, and it should, and I hope ever will do; or God help this noble land! Poor blackies! Be not so bold, or so conceited, or so insolent hereafter, I do beseech you.

Then how rich I have become among my 'colored clients'! I assert, without fear of contradiction, that I have been the friend of western 'darkies' for more than twenty years; and amidst difficulties and troubles innumerable, (for they are a litigious race,) I have been their adviser, and I have never made twenty pounds out of them in that long period. The fact is, that the poor creatures had never the ability to pay a lawyer's fee.

It has been my misfortune and the misfortune of my family to live among these blacks (and they have lived upon us) for twenty-four years. I have employed hundreds of them, and, with the exception of one, named Richard Hunter, not one has ever done for us a week's honest labor. I have taken them into my service, have fed and clothed them year after year on their arrival from the States, and in return have generally found them rogues and thieves, and a graceless, worthless, thriftless, lying set of vagabonds. This is my very plain and simple description of the darkies as a body, and it would be endorsed by all the western white men, with very few exceptions.

I have had scores of George Washingtons, Thomas Jeffersons, James Madisons, as well as Dinahs, Gleniras, and Lavinias, in my service, and I understand them thoroughly, and I include the whole batch (old Richard Hunter excepted) in the category above described. To conclude, you 'gentlemen of color,' east and west, and especially you, 'colored citizens of Toronto,' I thank you for giving me an opportunity to publish my opinion of your race. Call another indignation meeting, and there make greater fools of yourselves than you did at the last, and then 'to supper with what appetites you may.'

Believe me to remain, Mr. Editor, yours, very respectfully, JOHN PRINCE.

TORONTO, June 26, 1857.

P. S.—I think it proper to allude to the case of Messrs. Wilkinson and Woodbridge, of whom the darkies' resolution make mention, and who were so improperly and unjustly dismissed from the commission of the peace. Those two magistrates did their duty; they acted upon a statute which has never been repealed, and they were dismissed for not having acted upon a statute which did not touch the offence charged—horse-stealing! However, there is some consolation in reflecting that the black rascal whom they caused to be arrested was tried and convicted of the crime charged, and will luxuriate for six years yet to come in the State prison of Ohio. It is believed (and I believe it too) that the 'monument' had much to do in influencing the executive against those worthy magistrates. J. P.

We do not know anything about the negroes in Canada; but, reasoning from analogy, we are fully prepared to endorse the Colonel's views, and thousands and tens of thousands of Southerners will vouch for the same. The African, the negro, is inferior to the Caucasian mentally and morally. It is impossible to place them upon a footing with the whites. A free negro population is a curse, the greatest curse in the world. Negroes were made for slaves—and never will be anything else—Mr. Garrison and his followers to the contrary.

SELECTIONS.

From the Toronto British Colonist.

COL. PRINCE AND THE COLORED PEOPLE.

To the Editor of the Daily Colonist.

Dear Sir,—In your issue of the 27th ult., appeared a letter from the Hon. Col. Prince, in which he says he condescends to notice the proceedings of the indignation meeting held in this city against him by the people of color, which were published in your paper of the 25th ult.

In the commencement of the Colonel's letter, he says that the report of our proceedings afforded him a rich treat and not a little fun, and he wishes to make it appear that he enjoyed a jollification exceeding the one he had upon the receipt of the news that the 'Western darkies' had sent him to the Legislative Council. But, Sir, I make no doubt that the most casual observer will agree with me, that the latter part of the Colonel's letter falsifies the first in toto, and that instead of fun, (although hardened in trespasses and in sin,) he was cut to the very quick, and his ire raised to the highest pitch. The retort of the Colonel is quite in keeping with his taint of Negro-phobia, his course on a former occasion, and the prejudices against color he has imbibed from his American neighbors, who, when a colored man beats them on fair grounds, resort to the foulest epithets to tickle the fancy of those who are governed by the same influences as themselves. But, Sir, the Colonel has outstripped them all; he has left them far in the shade; he is invincible; and he has become the *Prince* of all who have ever used the tongue of scorn, scandal and malice upon the pate of the poor and ill-used colored man. And I opine, should he go down into the heart of the South, and open a 'school of scandal' against negroes, he would make by far more money than by practising the law, or legislating against them in Canada.

It is not my purpose, Mr. Editor, to follow the example of the Colonel in a tirade of abuse and low slang. For that part of the Colonel's letter is beneath my notice; and I am content to behold him revelling in the slough of what seems to be his most appropriate sphere, and as having attained a perfection and celebrity in it I neither covet nor expect to attain. But, Sir, in justice to ourselves, and to those brave colored patriots who sacrificed their lives and time in defending this country, (during that period which 'tried men's souls,') I feel it a duty incumbent upon me to substantiate the truth of certain statements reported in the proceedings of the meeting to which he refers, and to place the lies where they properly belong. Having done that by facts which I do not fear in the least the Colonel, or any one else, shall be able to gainsay, I shall let the matter drop as being unworthy of any further notice from us, believing as we do that the letter of the Colonel itself (without any answer from us) is sufficient, from what we have heard expressed by the press and by many citizens, to sink him into 'the oblivion of public opinion which awaits him.'

The Colonel, in speaking of the colored people of Toronto, says—'Here they are kept in their proper places; but their proceeding are evidence of their natural conceit, their vanity and their ignorance, and in them the cloven foot appears, and evinces what they would do if they could,' &c. But let the Colonel and all others read what a Journal of this city says of the colored people of Toronto:—

'OUR COLORED NEIGHBORS.'

'We refuse positively the communication upon the subject. The colored people of Toronto are an example, in point of industry, sobriety, and morality, to their white neighbors. Out of 5346 persons committed to Toronto jail, last year, 5268 were white men and women!!! Out of 1057 ladies so committed, only 8 were colored. We judge people by their conduct, not by their color.'

Therefore, when so much has been said in our favor—especially the very appropriate and well-timed remarks made in the *Colonist* of the 4th instant—little remains for us to say. Nor are we disposed to imitate the egotism of the Colonel; for it is an old adage, that 'self-praise is half scandal.' But I will say this much, *en passant*, that in Toronto we have an intelligent judiciary and magistracy, by whom the laws are administered in *an equitable manner*, and where colored men get justice as well as law. But, on the contrary, in that part of the country the Colonel represents, the colored people have to contend with a set of justices of the peace, to use the Colonel's own words, 'three fourths of whom are incapable of either reading or writing,' and no doubt are imbued with the same feelings of prejudice as himself. Now, really, if any one has shown the 'cloven foot,' it is the Colonel himself, who has pretended to have been the friend, the steady friend of the blacks for more than twenty years, and without any provocation whatever from them, all at once proves himself to be one of their bitterest enemies. And it is he only that 'evinces what he would do if he could;' and I have no doubt if he were down South on a cotton, sugar, or tobacco plantation, well-stocked with negroes, where John Mitchel, the convict, wished himself to be, he would apply the lash and tongue in a manner to astonish the most merciless slave-driver.

The Colonel says of our proceedings, they are 'all lies, lies, lies, from beginning to end.' Now, Sir, the only thing in the Colonel's letter that surprised me is, that he who pitted himself against the Hon. the President of the Executive Council, 'as Queen's Counsel of fourteen years' standing,' should come out in public print with *ex parte* testimony to justify a course so discreditable to himself; for he has not brought forward one single fact or argument to prove his assertions, which are worth nothing; and I must say he has attempted an enormous imposition upon the intelligence of his readers, in supposing he could clear himself by a mere flat denial.

The Colonel lays great stress upon what we said about his walking arm-in-arm with colored men. Now, we do not wish the Colonel to think, for a moment, that it would be any great honor for a colored man to walk arm-in-arm with him; not but that he might be as good as a colored man, providing he behaved himself. But we wish him to understand that colored men have walked arm-in-arm with men his superiors.

Now, Sir, as to our former assertions being all 'lies, lies, lies,' the following statements and facts will testify. Mr. Samuel Lewis, a colored man, well-known in this city, and who was captain under Colonel Prince, says he has walked arm-in-arm with the Colonel several times during the rebellion, and he knows other colored people that have done likewise; and if necessary, will make his affidavit to this statement.

Mr. John J. Gardner, formerly of Detroit, now a resident of this city, says he has seen Col. Prince frequently walk, locked arm-in-arm, with colored men in Detroit, Sandwich and Windsor, during the years 1844, 1845, and 1846—namely, with Messrs. Bibb, Banks, Garret and Jackson, all colored men; and further says he can establish these statements by several witnesses, and, if necessary, will take his oath to them. So much, then, for the Colonel's denial of having walked arm-in-arm with colored men.

But the meanest thing contained in the Colonel's letter is the stigma he has endeavored to cast upon the colored defenders of this Province, during the rebellion of 1837 and 1838; and nothing could reveal more clearly how he apes the American character. For instance, I read in the *Colonist* of the 22d ult., the following:—'On the 17th inst., the people of Boston celebrated the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill. The celebration was not got up to rejoice over a victory, for the people of the United States admit the defeat of their forces by the British army at the battle of Bunker Hill; but the object was rather to inaugurate a proper monument to the memory of General Joseph Warren, who fell at that battle, and who was the first distinguished American who lost his life in that war of Independence.' When, in fact, the first man who distinguished himself in the Tea Riot of Boston, which led to the Revolutionary war, was a colored man named Crispus Attucks, who was shot in King (now State) street, Boston, while leading on the mob on the 5th of March, 1770. And when a petition was presented to the Legislature of Massachusetts, March 5th, 1851, asking that an appropriation of $1500 be made to erect a monument to Attucks, it was rejected; while, at the same time, an appropriation was made to erect one to Isaac Davis, a promoter of the same revolution:—but he was white. These are the things which show the ingratitude and injustice of the Americans to the colored people, who have fought their battles and tilled their lands. Neither have they the manliness in their histories to give them any credit for what they have done towards assisting them in achieving their independence. But if they say any thing about us, it is to say how well some one acted as a cook or an hostler to General Washington, or some other great man. Just in the same manner the Colonel wishes to treat the colored people of this Province; and I am sorry to find, in the history of Canada I have read, that it is silent upon the important services rendered by the colored patriots. For it has been allowed, by those who were acquainted with the state of public opinion during that period, that, had the colored population taken part with the rebels, the chances were that the country might have been lost to the English government.

The Colonel says, 'I admit that one company of blacks did belong to my contingent battalion, but they made the worst of soldiers, and, comparatively speaking, were unsusceptible of drill or discipline, and were conspicuous for one act only—a stupid sentry shot the son of one of our oldest Colonels, under the mistaken notion he was thereby doing his duty.' But the Colonel took good care not to give the reason why the colored sentry shot the young man in question; and perhaps he thought, at the time of writing, no one would recollect the circumstances attending the case. Now I ask Colonel Prince, in all sincerity, if, instead of the young man's death being caused by the stupidity of the sentry, it was not because he attempted to pass without giving the countersign; and, furthermore, attempted to take the guard's musket from him? And the same thing might have happened here at the residence of the Lieut. Governor, when his son and aid-de-camp attempted to pass the guard without giving the countersign. Thus we have the opinions of the Colonel, as expressed through the public press, notwithstanding he has repeatedly spoken in the Royal Exchange, in this city, formerly kept by Messrs. Snow & Fisher, of his high appreciation of the bravery and valor of the colored soldiers under his command.

We will now see what some other authorities say, who are equally acquainted with the colored people and with the Colonel, and, no doubt, stand higher in the estimation of the public than he does.

Colonel Radcliff, in his despatch to his Excellency the Lieut. Governor, in giving an account of the capture of the rebel schooner *Anne*, of Amherstburg, on the 9th of June, 1838, says:

'The vessel came close up to the shore, and commenced firing grape and round shot and musketry. The militia opened a brisk fire; the schooner ceased firing, when it was thought by some she was willing to surrender; however, as she did not pull down the flag, our men boarded her, although up to their armpits in water.'—[Extract from Journal of 3d Session, 13th Parliament, 1st Victoria, page No. 2464.

Now it is a known fact in Canada, that the party which boarded the *Anne* were composed mostly of colored men, and led by a colored Captain—for which bravery he afterwards had a sword presented to him. And yet the Colonel says the stupid act of shooting the old Colonel's son was the only act they were conspicuous for! Oh, American consistency, how bright a jewel you do shine forth in all your *Princely* splendor! It is certainly ridiculous for the Colonel, at this late day, to assert that the blacks are unsusceptible of drill, or that they make the worst soldiers, when it is known that one of the greatest Generals the world ever knew, stated that he learned some of his best military tactics from a colored man; namely, Toussaint of the West Indies. But the Colonel seems to have lost all reason in his mad fury while cogitating upon the fact that the 'poor blackies should be so bold, or so conceited, or so insolent,' as to answer him. He is not able to recollect the difference between a pop-gun and the largest cannon he saw on board the Rebel schooner *Anne*, and about which he wrote so much to Gov. Mason of Michigan. But if the Colonel did not know what the 'Blackies' could do by way of 'discipline or drill,' let him read what a very estimable citizen says of the colored people of Toronto:—

TORONTO, July 3, 1857.

SIR—Your letter of the 20th of June, in which you request me to state, as far as my memory serves, the manner in which the colored soldiers conducted themselves during the rebellion of 1837 and 1838, and whether in my opinion they were capable of making good soldiers, and whether they were of any service to the country in that capacity, has been received by me; and in reply thereto, I have great pleasure in stating, that the company which I commanded in the Queen's Rangers Provincial Battalion was composed of nearly equal numbers of white and colored men; that the conduct of both was equally to my satisfaction; that a colored man was, at the request of the whites, advanced by me to the rank of sergeant, and became the pay-sergeant of the company; and that, had we come into contact with the rebels, I have no doubt that my company would have done good service.

I have also great pleasure in stating, that, so far as my knowledge of the colored population of Toronto is concerned, great credit is due to them for their general good conduct and industry, and that during the long period in which I continued to hold the office of Sheriff, fewer convictions for offences took place in the Superior Courts and Courts of Quarter Sessions, which I had to attend, than, when compared with the white population, might have been expected.

I remain, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
W. B. JARVIS,
Formerly a Captain in the Queen's Rangers, and Ex-Sheriff.

Mr. A. T. Augusta.

And let him read what his Excellency the Lieut. Governor said in his farewell address to Parliament, of the colored patriots:—

'When our colored population were informed that American citizens, sympathizing with their sufferings, had taken violent possession of Navy Island, for the double object of liberating them from the domination of British rule, and of imparting to them the blessings of republican institutions, based upon the principle, that all men are born equal, did our colored brethren hail their approach? No! on the contrary, they hastened as volunteers, in wagon loads, to the Niagara frontier, to beg from me, that in the intended attack upon Navy Island, they might be permitted to form the forlorn hope; in short, they supplicated that they might be allowed to be foremost to defend the glorious institutions of Great Britain.'

And again he says:—

'But it seems now to be admitted that our invaders have been deceived; that they falsely estimated the Canadian people; and that they have at last learned that the Yeomen, Farmers, Indians, and colored population of this Province, prefer British institutions to Democracy.' [See Journal 3d Session 13th Parliament, 1st Victoria, March 6th, 1838, pages No. 450 and 451.]

Now, as to the Colonel's election, he says:—'Few, very few blacks voted for me; *I never canvassed them;* and hence, I suppose, they supported as a body my opponent.'

But hear what the Rev. Mr. Hatfield, (a colored clergyman of the Methodist denomination, well known in this city, and who is in charge of a church at Windsor, C. W. and lives within a short distance of the Colonel's residence) says:—During the campaign of the election in which the Colonel was returned to the Legislative Council, he held a political meeting in his church, and in his harangue to the colored voters, among other things, he stated to them that he was opposed to separate colored schools, and if elected, he would do all in his power to have the law altered. But after the election, the Colonel turned just the opposite way. And he further stated that, during the canvass, he frequently saw the Colonel and his son walking locked arm-in-arm with the colored voters, laughing and talking with them in the most friendly manner; and, moreover, that the Colonel employed colored men to canvass among the colored people for him, namely, a Mr. Foster, of Malden, John White, of Windsor, the Rev. Mr. Campbell of Windsor, and that the Rev. John Lyles canvassed through the Colonel's whole district for him; and that one of the party above named confessed to him that the Colonel paid him for electioneering for him. And if it is necessary, he is willing at any moment to make his affidavit to this statement.

Likewise, the *Provincial Freeman*, a paper published and edited altogether by colored men, advised the colored people to vote for the Colonel. Now I do not say that the *Freeman* is in the employ of the Colonel, nor am I aware that it receives any aid from him; but it is passing strange that it has been four weeks since the Colonel made his infamous speech against the colored people, and when other papers, not known before to be friendly to the colored people, have come out so nobly in our favor, the *Freeman*, which is considered to be the colored people's paper, should be silent upon the subject when they have been assailed. Its remains for the editors of that paper to explain their position in that respect.

The Colonel advises us by saying, 'Poor Blackies, be not so bold or conceited, or so insolent, hereafter, I beseech you.' Now, in answer to this part of his epistle, we give the Colonel, and to whom it may concern, to understand, that there are in Canada colored men who were born here, and others also, who, although they were not born here, have become citizens, not because they could not enjoy a species of freedom in the United States, but because they believed they could enjoy it better under the British flag, and because they wished as much as possible to rid themselves from the influences of that cruel prejudice of caste which cramps the energies of the colored man in the United States. And they are aware also, that the laws of Britain guarantee them certain rights and privileges as citizens: those rights they dare defend, and are determined to dispute every inch of ground with their enemies. Nor do they intend to live here in trembling and fear, and see those rights trampled upon without resisting, as long as they have a voice, through the public press. And all colored men here who are afraid to speak above their breath, deserve to be 'colonized upon the Manitoulin Islands,' or some such place, and to have the Colonel as their *Prince*.

Then, as to the amount of wealth the Colonel has amassed from the blacks. He says, 'I have been the friend, the steady friend of western darkies for more than twenty years, and amidst the difficulties and troubles innumerable, (for they are a litigious race,) I have been their adviser, and I have never made twenty pounds out of them during that long period.' But the Colonel does not say how much land he has made out of them. Now it has been said that poor old Richard Hunter, a short time before his death, came to Toronto to inquire if the title was good to the land he was then living upon, stating that a certain lawyer, who had been a great friend to the colored people, was trying to oust him from it. Of course, it will not do to mention who that lawyer was who wished to possess himself of that *princely estate*, for that is a secret. But all know very well how much a lawyer does for nothing. Perhaps the Colonel's advice to the 'Western Darkies' is somewhat like the advice he gives the colored Torontonians; and if so, he deserves the same lawyer's fee.

Now, in conclusion, our advice to the Colonel is to go home, and not again imitate a certain animal with long ears.

I remain, on behalf of the Committee,
Very respectfully yours,
A. T. AUGUSTA,

CENTRAL MEDICAL HALL,
Yonge St., July 9th, 1857.

THE FOURTH OF JULY IN MADISON CO., KY.—AN ORATION FROM CASSIUS M. CLAY.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

BEREA, Madison Co., Ky., July 8, 1857.

As I am a stranger to your columns as a correspondent, it may perhaps be proper for me to state at the outset, that I am lately from my former residence in Western New York, and have been preaching the Gospel for a few weeks past at some of the stations and Free Churches planted by Mr. Fee and his co-laborers in this region. It has been suggested to me that a publication of a statement of facts in regard to the celebration of the Fourth here would be a source of encouragement to the friends of Freedom throughout our country.

The Fourth of July has been celebrated in an appropriate manner by the friends of Freedom here without opposition for three years past. This year between two and three thousand people assembled on that day at a beautiful grove where the necessary preparations had been made. The assembly was called to order by Mr. Wm. Stapp. After repeating the order of exercises, and making a few appropriate remarks with reference to the day, the Rev. Mr. Fee offered prayer; the Declaration of Independence was then read by Dr. Wm. Chase. Next in order was music, then an oration from the Hon. Cassius M. Clay. He enchained the attention of the audience for 2 1-2 hours, with an address full of earnest thought, beautifully and eloquently expressed, and abounding with facts which show conclusively that the question of Freedom is the great practical question of the day, and especially appropriate to be discussed on the Fourth of July. I shall attempt but a mere outline of his oration. He commenced by referring to the day made memorable by the signing of the Declaration of Independence, an event which he regarded as one of the most important in the annals of time, for he said the great principle of the equality of the races of men in political rights, though it had long struggled for existence among the nations, and had long ago been revealed by God in the language, 'He is no respecter of persons,' was never before acknowledged by any nation as a standard in government. After exposing the foolish sophistries of some modern politicians who deny the great self-evident truths of the Declaration, he proceeded to say that he had not come there to build sepulchres to the prophets, or to whitewash the character of any of the past or present, but he had come to try to keep vital the spirit of our Revolutionary fathers, rather than to pronounce eulogies upon the dead. He then proceeded to show that the despotism of Slavery in this country is more cruel and tyrannical, not to the black man only, but to the non-slaveholding whites, than that against which our fathers rebelled in '76. For proof, he referred to the rule of the Slave Power in Kansas, and to the late decision of the Supreme Court, and to the crushing monopoly of slave labor upon the non-slaveholders in the Slave States, and that in none of the Slave States, except, perhaps, Tennessee, is the voter allowed the secret ballot, because, as one pro-slavery politician, whom he quoted, expresses it, if that privilege should be allowed, 'it would destroy the wholesome influence of the landlord over the tenant.' He showed, by the United States census, the great advantage of free labor over slave labor, and said it is but the reiteration of the eternal law, that whatever is right is expedient.

He spoke of the social equality existing between the capitalist and the labor at the North, and of the excellent system of public schools in the Free States, compared with the schools in the Slave States, showing again from the census the great advantage of the former over the latter in regard to general intelligence among the masses. He spoke of the vaunting claims of Democracy, and of the 'Manifest Destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race.' He said if Slavery were admitted to be right—'the corner-stone of our Republican institutions'—'the best social system in the world'—whatever you might call it, it could not be Democracy for 350,000 slaveholders to rule over 25,000,000 of people. In regard to manifest destiny, he referred to the warning voice of history. He spoke of the mighty empires of the past—of Babylon, of Greece and Rome, of Spain and of other nations, all of which claimed, in their day of power and prosperity, that they would subdue the world, because it was their manifest destiny. Where are these nations now? Men of America, take warning, he said, for there is no eternal law which can be violated without incurring its penalty, and the violation of a moral law brings with it the most severe penalty. Slavery conflicts with the great law of brotherhood taught by the Savior. He closed by referring, in a sublime and impressive style, to the great laws of progress; admitting, however, that hitherto there have been recessions, as well as advancement, in civilization; still, in the main, he claimed there was progress, and the final result would be—Universal Freedom to all men.

Mr. Clay then offered the following resolutions, which were carried unanimously, with the exception of two votes in the negative. It may be just for me to state that a number of slaveholders and others who have generally been regarded as Pro-Slavery, were in attendance:

Resolved, By the free people of this Commonwealth of Kentucky, that the late decision in the Dred Scott case, by the majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, is a gross usurpation of power, contrary to the letter and spirit of the United States Constitution, and the precedents of our fathers, and a direct attempt to overthrow the liberties and rights of the people, and concentrate all power in the hands of the Slave Oligarchy.

Resolved, That the decision, that a black man has no rights which a white man is bound to respect, is of a like atrocity with its corollary, that a single slaveholder can make a Slave Territory and a Slave State, in opposition to the combined people of all the Union, and is no more than saying a non-slaveholder has no rights which a slaveholder is bound to respect.

Resolved, That the principles of 1776 are again in jeopardy, and whether attacked by a foreign or *home foe*, will be again defended by all constitutional means to the death.

A beautiful dinner was then served up in pic-nic style, with no appearance of anything stronger on the ground than soda-water and lemonade, except in one instance. It was evident that one man had taken *something* before he came there, but generally the best of order prevailed, throughout the day. After the dinner, the people again assembled around the stand, and listened to a deeply interesting address from the Rev. John G. Fee.

He commenced by referring to the early history of our country, and showed conclusively that our fathers intended to have the great principles of the Declaration of Independence applied to black men as well as white. He went into an analysis of human rights, and placed upon an immovable basis the great doctrine that every man had a right to himself, showing that law was not made to invest rights, but to protect rights inherent in human nature. He spoke of Christianity as the great instrument with which to bring public sentiment up to the acknowledgment of these great truths. He referred to the power of the Gospel to abolish Slavery in the early periods of the Christian Church, so that in the time of Constantine, there was not a slave held in any of the churches of Christendom.

He said it was the power of the Gospel which was the great instrument in abolishing the slave-trade and Slavery in the West Indies. He referred to the early testimony of different denominations of Christians in this country against Slavery, and he spoke particularly of the Methodists; but now, he said, how had the fine gold become dim! He closed with an earnest and affecting appeal to Christians to gird on the whole Christian armor, and carry out those great doctrines of Humanity and Christianity in the Church and State, remembering as bound with them the more than three millions of our fellow-beings who are enduring a 'bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that against which our fathers rebelled.'

The President then called for volunteer speeches or sentiments. Your correspondent offered the following sentiments, which were well received by the audience:

The Hunters of Kentucky—May their rifles—never used for trifles—never be used to suppress the cause of Human Freedom.

The Orator of the Day—Cassius M. Clay, the Friend of Man. His name is dear to the heart of every true lover of Liberty.

John G. Fee—The fearless man of God—the man who 'believes in a Christianity which means something.'

After some further remarks upon the great subject of the day, the audience was then dismissed by the President. One thing seems certain—the cause of Freedom is onward in Kentucky. Anti-Slavery voters have the balance of power in this Congressional District. Abolitionists have been elected to the offices of Justice of the Peace, Constable, &c., in two or three instances. Nine churches have been established which do not admit slaveholders to their communion. J. C.

☞ Since the above gratifying letter was written, the Rev. Mr. Fee, while preaching on Sunday in a meeting-house in Rockcastle county, (Ky.) was assaulted and dragged from the house by a gang of pro-slavery ruffians, armed with deadly weapons and threatening death, who tore his clothes, held a pistol to his breast, injured him slightly, and marched him derisively out of the place, forbidding him to preach again in the county. We are unable to find room for the particulars this week.

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, AUGUST 7, 1857.

ANNIVERSARY
OF
British West India Emancipation.

On Saturday last, being the first day of August, the twenty-third anniversary of the abolition of Slavery in the British West Indies was duly commemorated by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society and other friends of freedom, by a public meeting held in the well-known grove at Abington, in Plymouth county.

This grove has a situation remarkably favorable for the purposes of such a meeting. Equi-distant from the city of Boston and the venerable town of Plymouth, the landing-place of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England,—surrounded by many flourishing towns which contain a large, intelligent and highly educated population,—easily accessible by railroad from the city and larger towns, it is in itself a spot of great natural beauty, affording a most agreeable resort and shelter, whether for the purposes of speaking and hearing, or otherwise spending the day in the open air. To the friends of freedom, the place has become hallowed by the memory of many gatherings which have been held there in behalf of their cause, of bold and eloquent words from honored lips there uttered, and of noble purposes there formed, which have stamped themselves in deeds upon the history of the country.

The lowering skies on the morning of Saturday last, and the rain which fell for a short time, indicated a dull and wet day, and forbade us to hope for the usual large gathering at the grove. It was doubtful indeed whether the grove could be occupied at all, and the Town Hall of Abington was put in readiness for the accommodation of such as might assemble. But, as the hour of meeting drew near, the signs of the weather became more favorable, and it was determined to attempt the meeting in the grove. Yet, through the forenoon, it remained doubtful whether the day would be fair or foul. 'Long time in even scale the battle hung,' but soon after noon, and to the great joy of all, it was at length gloriously decided in favor of bright skies and soft breezes; and the entire, summer has not seen a lovelier afternoon than that of Saturday the first of August.

At about 11 o'clock, some five hundred persons having assembled, the meeting was called to order by FRANCIS JACKSON, President of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. He said that nineteen years ago, Great Britain emancipated 800,000 slaves in the West Indies by paying money to the slaveholders.—He thought they ought to have paid it to the slaves. When, he asked, would our four millions be emancipated? Not until the hands of the people of the North were taken from their throats; and it was our business to rap their knuckles until they were taken off.

Mr. Jackson then said that he had been requested by the Committee of Arrangements to report the following organization of the meeting:—

For President—SAMUEL MAY, Jr., of Leicester.

For Vice-Presidents—Francis Jackson, Boston;—Bourne Spooner, Plymouth; Eliza Lee Follen, Brookline; Maria Weston Chapman, Weymouth; Edmund Quincy, Dedham; Charles Lenox Remond, Salem; William Ashby, Newburyport; Thomas J. Hunt, Abington.

For Secretaries—Charles Follen, Brookline; William C. Nell, Boston.

For Finance Committee—Abby Kelley Foster, Nathaniel B. Spooner, Mary Willey, Joshua H. Robbins.

The meeting, without dissent, confirmed the above nomination of officers.

Mr. MAY, in taking the chair, expressed the satisfaction he felt, and which he trusted he should ever feel, in any opportunity to serve this holy cause, which honored all who faithfully served it, and welcomed all, both the old friends and the new inquirers, to the opportunities and enjoyments of the occasion.

Opportunity for prayer, vocal or silent, was then given. The meeting next joined in singing the first hymn (upon the printed sheet prepared for the occasion)—

'The Western isles rejoice to-day.'

Miss ANNA GARDNER, of Nantucket, was introduced to the meeting as the first speaker.

MISS GARDNER'S REMARKS.

Between the interesting and glorious occasion which calls us together to-day,—a genuine day of freedom to eight hundred thousand slaves in the British West Indies,—and the Anniversary of what is falsely termed our National Independence, there is indeed a striking dissimilarity. Here is no noisy parade, no booming cannon, no spread-eagle demonstrations, by which the fair Goddess of Liberty is profaned; no bombastic orations, replete with cant and hypocrisy, no hollow-hearted mockery of Freedom, over her prostrate, bleeding form. But instead, we have a company convened by the magnetism of freedom, whose genuine love of it has been tested by long years of self-sacrifice and devotion.

It is refreshing, in these days of compromise with the dark spirit of evil, in these latter days that 'try men's souls,' to see so many great and noble minds, undaunted by the cry of 'treason,' far-seeing and self-sacrificing enough to plant themselves on the rock of absolute Right, outside the charmed circle of that blood-stained compact, mis-named the Union.

It is well to celebrate this anniversary of freedom. It is full of inspiration, full of encouragement, annually renewing to us the lesson of perseverance in our efforts to reach the hearts and consciences of the people by the 'foolishness of preaching.' Though we do not realize the consummation of our hopes so speedily as did Wilberforce and his co-laborers, yet we may confidently expect to do so in a time commensurate with the greater magnitude of the work we have to perform, in a country where Slavery rules with a power ten fold more despotic than that of a throne. Though we may have to 'possess our souls in patience' a longer time, yet we may confidently prophecy, as did our friend GARRISON, many years ago, in song:

'Though distant be the day, yet come it must,
(O, hasten it in mercy, righteous Heaven!)
When Afric's sons, uprising from the dust,
Shall stand erect, their galling fetters riven;
When from his throne Oppression shall be driven,
An exiled monster, powerless through all time;
When Freedom, glorious Freedom shall be given
To every race, complexion, caste and clime,
And Afric's sable hue shall cease to be a crime.'

Let us, my friends, be encouraged in this glorious work of emancipation! History, with impartial utterance, will proclaim both our struggle and its triumph. Truth will not be

——'For ever on the scaffold, Wrong for ever on the throne,
For that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above His own.'

(Loud applause.)

ANDREW T. FOSS, of New Hampshire, was next introduced, and spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF REV. ANDREW T. FOSS.

Mr. Foss said it was true, as had been stated, that the act of emancipation in the West Indies was a glorious event, but its glory was somewhat dimmed by the fact, that the British Government gave a hundred millions of dollars to the slaveholders to remunerate them for this act of righteousness and justice. This was an admission that the slaveholders had a right to hold the slaves in bondage. The memories, therefore, that cluster around this day, were admonitory as well as encouraging. The British people demanded the immediate, unconditional emancipation of the slaves, and if they had not made that demand, their liberty would never have been obtained at all. If they had demanded that the slave should be emancipated by paying the slaveholder, the demand would never have been acceded to. It was a fact, that nothing was ever gained by asking less than the absolute right. They were told by many, that the Garrisonians make a great mistake by making their demand so high—that they were too far from the people, and could not gain access to their minds. But somebody had said that the people always kept near enough to the reformer to curse him; and it was one evidence that their cause was a good and glorious reform, because they got an unusual amount of cursing.

In the contest in which the Abolitionists of this country were engaged, they had to contend with obstacles a thousand-fold greater than those which stood in the way of the British philanthropists. They have to make war upon the government; the British people had the government on their side. Then the religious influences of England did not uphold and support slavery as the religious influences of this country do. We have a Government and Church in the hand of the Slave Power like clay in the hand of the potter, to be moulded to any vessel that they choose. His idea of the true anti-slavery work was not to attack slavery directly; he would not undertake so foolish a work as to attempt to prove to any one, that man has no right to hold property in man. There was not a man in the world who did not know that every other man had an equal right to his liberty with himself.—He should not therefore spend his time in endeavoring to prove that slavery was wrong, nor that the Bible condemns slavery. Whether it did or did not, slavery was a self-evident wrong, and if the Bible supported it, it was no better for slavery. He would attack the sustaining influences of slavery, whatever they might be. There was nothing so sacred that he would not lift his hand against it, if it favored slavery. (Applause.) They might call that what they pleased. If it was treason, if it was infidelity, let them make the most of it. It was to him God's own revelation, made through no medium whatever, but directly to his own soul, and he accepted it.

The Union of these States had been, and was still the security of slavery, and without it, slavery could not exist a single year; therefore, he was in favor of a dissolution of this Union at once. It was evident to every mind that slavery could not have been in existence to-day, if our fathers had not made the compact with the Slave-Power that they did. He should always remember a sermon which he once heard preached by an old Quaker, which he would repeat word for word. 'Friends,' said he, 'the Captain of our salvation was never foiled in battle; the enemy of our souls was never beaten in a bargain.' If that was not a good sermon, he did not know what was. If they went to war with the devil, under the great Captain, they were sure of victory; but the moment they undertook to compromise—to make a bargain with him, he was sure to cheat them. (Applause.) That was what our fathers did. Instead of fighting the devil of slavery, they sat down to compromise with him. 'Give us so much, and we will give you so much,' said they; and the devil of slavery cheated our fathers badly, and we have suffered the consequences. We were all devil-cheated, every one of us.

If this Union had not been formed, slavery was too poor to buy new territory. If Louisiana had not been purchased, slavery could not have lived twenty-five years after the adoption of the Constitution, in all human probability. Slavery was unpopular then, and, what was more to the advantage of freedom, it was exceedingly unprofitable. There was no market for negroes. A man of his size, and twenty-five years younger, would not bring more than 250 or 300 dollars, and that would not pay for raising; but with the purchase of Louisiana, with the purchase of Florida, with the annexation of Texas, the price of slaves increased, because there was a demand in those rich lands for this kind of labor, until now they had reached a very high figure. His deduction was this:—that in consequence of these additions of territory, which never could have been made but for the formation of the Union, slavery has been made popular and profitable; whereas, without the Union, it would have been quite otherwise. What supported Virginia to-day? It was a fact, that during the last year, she sold human beings to the value of about fifteen millions of dollars. Virginia, the mother of statesmen and Presidents, that boasts that within her soil rest the ashes of the noblest dead, feeds and clothes herself with the price of the bodies and souls of men, women and children! Now it is profitable to raise slaves. The Union made it so; and but for this Union, there would be no sale for Virginia slaves. Now a man of his size would bring 2500 dollars, if twenty-five years younger. That paid well—was a profitable business.

Mr. Arnold, of Virginia, and multitudes of other Southern men, had stated again and again, on the floor of Congress and elsewhere, that they could not sustain slavery a single year without this Union.—Henry Wilson says it—everybody knows it is true. He was in favor of the dissolution of the Union, then. If any man or woman before him was a slave, and had had their children torn from their arms, and separated from them for ever, and knew that this Union, or any other Union, gave support to this terrible wrong, would they not oppose it? The man who was not opposed to the Union of these States was a slave himself.

He wished to ask his Republican friends if, when they swore fealty to the Union, they did not swear fealty to slavery. There was not a man who believed that slavery could continue any length of time in this land without the Union, and they were in favor of the Union; therefore, they were in favor of the continuance of slavery. That was the only logical conclusion to which they could come. They were doing more than the Democratic party to fasten the chains of the slaves by swearing to support this blood-stained Union. He knew their hearts were right, and that they desired the emancipation of the slave; but the very moment they were raising their hands to pray heaven to break their fetters, they were helping to rivet them yet more firmly by giving their support to the Union. He was ashamed of them, and they ought to be ashamed of themselves, for they were doing a vile and wicked work.

If it were not for this Union, the slaves of South Carolina could take their freedom to-day. They were strong men, whose bones and muscles had been knit into strength by labor; their masters were weak and imbecile, as regards physical strength. If it were not for the force of the North, pledged to support South Carolina in her tyranny over the slave population, they would not wear the bonds. They would dispose of their masters some morning before breakfast, and eat their breakfasts free men—and not be late, neither. But they knew, that the moment they raised their hands against their masters, they would be visited with instant death from the Northern allies of the slaveholders.

Mr. Foss said a man told him the other day, that if the slaves were worthy of their freedom, they would rise and take it; but suppose, said he, I see ten men in the road, pulling out their watches and money, and handing them to one man who stands, pistol in hand, commanding them to deliver up their property. I say, 'What miserable cowards! Why don't you spring upon him, and disarm him? There are ten of you; he is but one man.' But just then I look over the bushes on the side of the road, and I see one hundred men, with muskets loaded, their fingers on the trigger, and they are saying, 'Stand still, or we will shoot you dead in your tracks,'—and I change my mind; I do not think they are such cowards now.

That was the position of the Republicans and the people of the North towards the slaveholder; therefore his quarrel to-day was with the Republican party. The Democrats were losing their credit; everybody knew where they came from, and whither they were bound. (Laughter and cheers.) The Democrat was consistent. He was a devil, but 'a devil all confessed.'

——'Through the curls of his hair
The horns stand out, all naked and bare.'

But the Republican party were all wrapped up; just as much devils as the Democrats, but devils concealed; so much so, that half of them did not know they were devils. (Laughter.)

The Republicans claimed that they were the practicable men, and the Abolitionists the impracticable; but the fact was exactly the reverse. How did they suppose they could ever abolish slavery by supporting the Union, which it was confessed supported slavery and the slaveholder? They might continue in the Union, and encourage the slaveholder to hold on to his slaves, but the time must come when the slaves would be too strong to be held in bondage. They must all see, that however the white population might increase, the time would come when the slaves would be too many to be held in bondage. Besides, intelligence was coming to the dark minds of these men. They were beginning to know their rights, and when they knew them, he hoped they would strike for them. He had no squeamishness about this; he would spill any man's blood who sought to hold him in bondage; and he would counsel every man to take his liberty, 'peaceably if he could, forcibly if he must.'

His argument was, that under the existing state of things, there must be a collision between the races; but if the Union were dissolved, the result would be that the slaveholder, left to himself, would see that he is weak, inferior to the population by which he is surrounded, and that, of necessity, he must emancipate his slaves, and he would go to work and do it. That was the only way to get rid of slavery peaceably. If the Union were continued, there would be a battle terrible as that spoken of in the Apocalypse, when the blood rose up to the horses' bridles; break it up, do justice to the slave, and there was a strong probability that this dark cloud would pass away from the horizon, and leave us in the clear and beautiful sunshine of freedom.

He was a Garrisonian, not only by impulse—for, he thanked God, his impulses had always been with the right—but philosophically. It was the only reasonable, rational, hopeful way of delivering this land from slavery without bloodshed. It was surprising to him that all men did not see this. The Republicans had an idea that if they could only get the government into their hands, they would do wonders. They supposed that if they got the machine, they could bring out better work than the fathers, though the machine is exactly the same, and will run just as it was made to run, whoever turns the crank. He thought there was a good deal of presumption in such a supposition. They could not do it; they could not restrict slavery within its present limits. He wished they might get the government; he would be glad to see them make the effort, although he knew they would fail. It was necessary that they should see the folly of their scheme, and thus be induced to take higher and stronger ground.

'As there are so many here to speak,' said Mr. Foss, in conclusion, 'I do not feel that I ought to occupy your time longer; I have given you clearly and distinctly my idea,—that the only true course to be pursued by intelligent and philanthropic minds is to seek the dissolution of the Union; and I hope the Northern Convention to be held the coming autumn will be a great and glorious one. I hope you will begin to save your money, that you may have some to spare to take you to and from the Convention. You can do no work that will be so well for humanity and your own souls as to give what support you can to that Convention. Fathers! you desire to leave some legacy to your children; mothers! you, too, would do it. Strive to leave them the blessed legacy of a free country. I never expect to leave any property to my children; but if I can leave them a free country, that is the richest and best boon I can leave them. If I were worth a hundred millions of dollars, I would rather spend it all, and leave my children without a cent, but with a free country, than leave them all those millions, with a country cursed as to-day with slavery.' (Applause.)

REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, of Boston, addressed the meeting, (whose numbers were steadily increasing,) in a speech characterized by ability of reasoning and happy illustration. We give it in full.

SPEECH OF REV. JAS. FREEMAN CLARKE.

MR. PRESIDENT: During the Mexican war, Captain Bragg, with his artillery, was, on one occasion, in position, and Gen. Pillow rode up to him and said, with a good deal of excitement, 'The crisis has arrived, Capt. Bragg—the crisis has arrived; *fire!*' So Capt. Bragg turned round to his orderly and said, 'Fire!' The orderly looked about, and, not seeing anything, said, 'What shall I fire at?' 'Why,' said Captain Bragg, 'didn't you hear Gen. Pillow say the crisis has arrived? Fire at the crisis.' (Laughter.) Now, on these occasions, when anti-slavery men meet together, they always have something to fire at, for there is always a crisis, and they fire at crises; and I have no doubt that every man who is to speak here to-day will do as Gen. Pillow directed, and fire at the crisis. But for myself, I am not going to fire at the crisis. I am not going to say anything about the Dred Scott case, which I believe is the crisis at the present time; but I am going to say something about this anniversary of this first of August.

[After alluding to the scarcity of holidays in this country, and the character of our public days—classing Thanksgiving Day and the Fourth of July as the best, and the most likely to endure—Mr. Clarke proceeded:]

But the people of New England have found another holiday; and they have found it on this day, on which we meet to celebrate — what? To celebrate what never happened in the world before the 1st of August, 1834, namely, the acknowledgment of the fact, by a nation, that it was bound by the great laws of right and wrong, just as much as individuals are bound by them. That is what we celebrate to-day, and that is worth celebrating. (Applause.) A man fails, and his creditors release him; but by and by he makes more money, becomes rich again, calls his creditors together, and pays them all up, principal and interest; and we honor him for it; we say he has done the right thing. The law did not compel him to do it. A man has been doing something wrong; he cheated his neighbor, perhaps; he repents of it, confesses his fault, and makes restitution without confession, which is not quite so well; we honor him for making restitution. A man is doing something wrong—distilling liquor, for instance; he did not think it wrong at first, but his conscience is touched, and he feels he ought not to do it. He goes into a family, and finds the wife and children in misery and want, because the father is a drunkard, and he finds that drunkenness was occasioned by the manufacture and sale of liquor, in which he has been engaged. His conscience and reason are touched, and he makes up his mind that he will give up his profitable business, and he does so, because he thinks he ought to do it. We honor him for it. Why should not a nation, as well as an individual, be bound by those rules of right and wrong? The people of Great Britain came to the conclusion that they were bound by those laws of right and wrong, and they compelled their Government to act upon that conviction. They felt that they had been doing wrong, and they left off doing wrong. The people of Great Britain, who had been a slaveholding and slave-trading people from the beginning of their history down to that time, came to the conclusion that it was wrong, although their ancestors had done it, and they determined to break it off. That involved great sacrifices and many struggles before the act was accomplished; there were threats of dissolution between the Colonies and the mother country, but they did not mind them; they broke it off.

Now, you would think that a nation ought to be honored when, as a nation, it recognises that it is bound by the same laws of right and wrong as individuals. But what did happen? They were not honored, at least not by everybody. There were loud outcries against the people of Great Britain as hypocrites. 'They have white slaves at home,' it was said; 'why don't they liberate them? Look at the children in the factories; look at their colliers, working in cold and wet, and nearly or quite naked; why don't they free them? and why don't they free the people in India? They are hypocrites.' Let us suppose a case. There is Mr. Thomas Goodchild, who lives in Boston; he was doing a prosperous business, but he got involved, and failed, and paid fifty cents on a dollar, his creditors releasing him. By and by he went into business again, and made more money, and called his creditors together, and said, 'I have made more money, and I will pay you what I owe you, with interest,' and he did it. There is a man living over the way—we will call him Mr. Isaac Hardheart—what does he say about it? He says the man is a fool, a hypocrite, because he does other wrong things, and why doesn't he brake off from them? 'I understand,' says Isaac, 'that he sometimes swears; that he is a little severe in his own household. Why does he not leave these off? He is a hypocrite. Besides, the people he has paid are worse off than they were before. There is a man who took the money and got drunk; Mr. Goodchild better have kept his money. Besides,' says Isaac, 'it is contrary to the Bible. The Bible says that people who have released their debtors ought not to be paid. Noah laid down that law when he came out of the ark, and Paul wrote a letter to Philemon, and ordered a debtor who had released his creditor, and afterwards been paid up, to return the money.' We are somewhat surprised to hear that; but we soon ascertain that Mr. Hardheart has himself failed, for four times as much as Mr. Goodchild, and, although he has made a large fortune since, he has never offered to pay up his creditors, and does not mean to. Now it is all explained, and we can understand his position perfectly.

That parable applies very well to the people of England and the people of the United States. We call the English people hypocrites because they did what we do not want to do, and what we do not mean to do. It rather troubles our consciences, and we had rather call them hard names than follow their example. (Applause.)

Allow me, Mr. President, in what time remains to me here, to endeavor to indicate a few of the lessons which we may educe, if we choose, from this act of Great Britain. On the 1st of August, 1834, every slave in the British possessions became virtually a free man, and on the 1st of August, 1838, every slave became actually a free man. Let me read the act of emancipation. It ought to be read to-day. It is one of the noblest passages of history. This is the essential clause of the act of Parliament which set free 800,000 slaves, and taxed the people of Great Britain $100,000,000 in order to carry it out:

'Be it enacted, that all and every the persons who, on the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, shall be holden in slavery within any such British Colony as aforesaid, shall, upon and from and after the said first of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, become and be to all intents and purposes free, and discharged of and from all manner of slavery, and shall be absolutely and forever manumitted; and that the children thereafter born to any such persons, and the offspring of such children, shall in like manner be free from birth. And that from and after the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, slavery shall be and is hereby utterly and forever abolished and declared unlawful throughout the British Colonies, plantations and possessions abroad.'

That is a noble act; that is the act we celebrate to-day—an act of justice and honesty, and one performed by the people of Great Britain as a nation. It was a great national act of restitution; it was breaking away from their sins. They did not restore to the slaves who had been working for years without wages, under the whip, what they had been robbed of. It was not a complete restitution, but as far as it went, it was a noble, generous, magnanimous act.

Now for one or two lessons from that act, and its results. We can learn from that act this—that it is a safe thing to emancipate the slaves of the United States. You know perfectly well that the constant outcery has been, that those who wish to have the slaves emancipated are wishing to have the throats cut of the masters, their wives and their children; and you know perfectly well, that when these 800,000 slaves became free men, there was not a single throat cut, not the least violence committed throughout the whole of the British possessions. You know this very well, because you have read, over and over again, descriptions of the beautiful solemnity, of the peaceful and happy thanksgivings with which these slaves, turned into free men, welcomed the great boon of liberty. That is something we ought to know and remember. If there had been, in consequence of that act of emancipation, any disturbance or disorder anywhere during the years that have elapsed since that act, would it not have been blazoned all through the land? would it not have been as celebrated as the horrors of St. Domingo? Certainly it would. And because no pro-slavery man has ever ventured to bring forth that argument against emancipation, you may be perfectly satisfied that there has never been any outbreak in consequence of emancipation; thus verifying the adage of the German poet: 'Fear not the slave who becomes a freeman, but fear the slave while he yet wears fetters.'

This is one thing that ought to be remembered and repeated on this occasion—there is no danger in doing right. It may be said that the slaves of the West India Islands were kept apart from each other by the separation of the islands, whereas in the United States there are four millions within the reach of each other, and it would, therefore, be more dangerous to emancipate the slaves in this country than it was to emancipate those in the West Indies. In answer to that, we have merely to say, that it is not expected, nor will it ever happen, that all the slave States will emancipate their slaves at the same time. No doubt it will begin with the slaves of the border States, one at a time. Missouri will emancipate, Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, one after another, not all at once—and so it will be just as safe in their case as it was in the emancipation of the slaves of the West India Islands.

There is something else for us to learn from the events of this day. We may learn this—that the longer we put off doing right, the harder it becomes. The people of those Islands put off emancipation until it became hard, and those consequences followed about which we read in the newspapers continually. The losses, the sacrifices, the pecuniary distress in those islands, came not from the emancipation, but from what went before it; they came from the slavery which preceded it. I have a book here which is a text-book on this subject, so far as I know. I do not know any other book which gives so full, fair and candid an account of the state of things in the British West Indies; there may have been another of a more recent date, but I am not aware of it. I refer to the book of Mr. Bigelow, called 'Jamaica in 1850.' He went to Jamaica, and obtained from the most authentic sources the best information, and the conclusions to which he came, and which he has set forth in this book, and which I think he has demonstrated, are these: The great pecuniary distress *did* follow the act of emancipation, but by what went before it. He has enumered the causes of the present evil state of things in the West India Islands, and they are these four: First, the degradation of labor caused by slavery, not by freedom; the feeling existing among the colored people, and which they learned from the whites, that to labor is degrading; and, therefore, when the slaves became freemen, and were not obliged to labor, they would only work as much as was necessary to support them; and a man, by working two hours a day in that beautiful climate and upon the rich soil, can obtain enough for the support of himself and family. That is one of the causes of the failure of the crops. The second cause which he gives is the encumbered estates. He says, from the testimony of the Attorney-General of the Island of Jamaica, and the planters themselves, that on the day of the passage of the act of emancipation, there was not a single estate on the island that was not mortgaged to nearly the full amount of its value. Third, these estates were not owned by those who lived on the island, but by absentees, and are so still; and that is another cause of the losses which have fallen upon the island of Jamaica, and on the other islands. As in Ireland, absenteeism has ruined the country, so in Jamaica and the British West Indies, absenteeism has been one of the causes of their depressed condition. As a consequence of this, there are but few small proprietors. The estates are all large—12 or 1500 acres—some larger; and the owners refuse to sell in small portions; and consequently, those who wish to obtain a few acres, and who would be willing to raise the staples of the island, and sell them to those who would manufacture the cotton and sugar, are unable to do so. The writer says that this state of things is gradually passing away; that small proprietors are gradually getting possession of the land, that labor is becoming respectable, and consequently, that there is a better state of things in prospect as soon as those causes of depression which preceded emancipation have been removed.

These are facts which are not particularly interesting, but still they are facts which ought to be stated on this occasion. They show, that the longer you put off doing right, the harder it is. I recollect reading a speech of Sydney Smith, in which, meeting the objection that reformers demand more than they formerly asked, he mentions this same law. 'Yes,' said he, 'it is true. But suppose you should take your apothecary on Saturday, and say to him, 'Subtle compounder! did n't you tell me, on Monday, that I only needed a drachm of medicine, and now you tell me I must take an ounce!' 'True, but you did not take the drachm, on Monday; that makes the difference. If you had done as I told you to do then, the consequences would be, that instead of sitting up in your chamber in your slippers and night-gown, you would have been walking vigorously up Piccadilly. Do n't blame me, therefore, that on account of putting off what you ought to have done, you are condemned to ten times the amount of rheubard, and an unlimited amount of senna.' (Laughter.) That is the law. You know the story of the Sybil. She brought nine books to the Roman King, which she offered at a certain price. 'It is too much,' said the king. She went away, and burned three of them; then came back and said, 'Here are the books—six of them; same price as before.' 'But there are only six.' 'Very well; that is the price.' 'It is too much; I cannot take them.' She burns three more, then returns and offers the remaining three at the same price as before. 'Well,' says the king, 'I suppose I must take them.' That is the law with us. We have got to take emancipation. The people of the United States must come to it, and every day they put it off, they will have to pay a larger price for the same thing. Slavery is wearing out the soil; it is corrupting our minds and manners, ruining the character of the people, degrading us in the eyes of the world. Every year we get less than we should have done, if we had emancipated our slaves when we ought to have done it—on the very day in which we declared our own independence. But it has got to be done, and we have got to pay the full price.

Well, there are other things which we may learn from this Anniversary, and one of the lessons is, to distinguish between things which differ, but are called by the same name. I want to distinguish in politics, and to distinguish in religion, between different things that go by the same name. There is a thing called Democracy in this country; it is a noble thing. We call ourselves a Democratic people; but what does Democracy mean? It means that the great majority of the people form and support and alter their institutions, just as they please. It means the largest liberty to the largest number; it means equal rights between man and man. But we have got none of these things. Therefore, our Democracy is a Democracy of *word*, not Democracy the *thing*. When a majority of the people of Great Britain made up their minds that slavery was wrong, they said to their Monarchical Government, 'Abolish slavery!' and the Government was obliged to obey. There was a true Democracy. The great majority of the people of the United States long ago made up their minds that slavery was wrong—North and South; but they could not abolish slavery, because they are governed by an Oligarchy. It is called a Democracy, but it is not so, and it is time we understood it, and distinguished between things that go by the same name, but are very different. I heard a story told in one of the speeches of the last campaign, which I think will illustrate this fact. A man, in the middle of the winter, heard a boy who was crying out, 'Hot mince pies!' So he called the boy, and bought one pie, thinking he would have a nice time eating it. He took a bite out of it, but his teeth met in the middle a great lump of ice. So he shouted after the boy to come back, and when he came, he asked him—'What do you mean by calling this a *hot* mince pie? it is frozen.' 'What do I mean?' said the boy, 'why, that's the name of it.' (Laughter and applause.) Just so it is with our Democracy; it is nothing but a name. We must distinguish between a Democracy in reality, and a Democracy in name. There was once an anti-slavery lecturer who was speaking in the State of Pennsylvania, among the old German Democrats, and he tried to convince them that Democracy was identical with anti-slavery. He said to them—'Why, what is Democracy? Is not a Democrat a man who loves equal rights, who wishes that everybody should be free? Is not that what you call a Democrat?' And an old Dutch Democrat who sat before him sung out—'No; dat ish not vat I calls a Democrat. I calls a Democrat a man vat votes the Democratic ticket.' (Laughter.) That is the Democracy of the country now—a man who votes the Democratic ticket; not a man who believes in Democratic ideas—not a man who loves to have the majority rule—not a man who loves justice and equal rights for all. (Applause.)

You must distinguish in politics. Because a man is called a Republican, it does not follow that he is a Republican, neither does it follow that he is *not* a Republican. I make two parties in this country, and only two. I do not call them slaveholders and non-slaveholders, because I know that among the slaveholders are some of the most generous and noble souls in the world. I have lived among them; I know them; I know there were men among them—and I suppose there are still—who, while technically and nominally slaveholders, were yet, in the whole influence of their heart and life, anything but slaveholders. I do not say that because a man is technically and nominally a slaveholder, therefore he is a rascal. I say, if a man believes in slavery, if he stands up for it, and defends it, if he is not doing what he can to get out of slavery, and free those who are dependent upon him, then I grant you he is really a slaveholder. But I have known men among the slaveholders who would rebuke nominally anti-slavery men—the men who will tell you everywhere, 'We are as much opposed to slavery as anybody—but.' The two parties which I should make are those which are doing something against slavery, and those who are not doing anything against slavery. Those who think that something ought to be done, and who are doing that something, whatever it may be, be it more or less; who are on the right side, who are working the right way, who are doing something, and who are willing to co-operate with anybody else who is doing something against slavery; and those who talk, if you choose, against it, but who are throwing cold water on the efforts of other men who are attempting to do something in a different way from themselves. I say, those who are doing something against slavery make up one party, and those who are doing nothing against it make up the other party—and I know only these two parties. I do not care whether a man is opposed to the Union or not. If he thinks the dissolution of the Union necessary in order to abolish slavery, I do not oppose him; I am willing to work with him. If he thinks the Republican party is the proper instrumentality to secure the abolition of slavery, I will help and encourage him. We do perfectly right in criticising the Republican party; so I should be right in criticising the Garrisonian party, if I thought it would be worth while. There is no harm in criticism; but I say, I belong to that Church which is at work against slavery; that is my Church, by whatever method it is trying to free the slave.

I have never made it my object to preach the dissolution of the Union, and my reason is a very simple one. I am very glad that the idolatrous love of the Union should be exposed and overthrown. I am very glad that there are people who think the right thing to be done is to denounce the Union—let them go on! There is an idolatrous love of the Union in this country which ought to be put down; but it is not my way, for this simple reason. How are you going to dissolve the Union? The only way is by making the people of the free States believe that liberty is of more value than the Union. You have got to convince them first of that, have you not? and when you have done that, it will not be necessary to dissolve the Union. When you have convinced a majority of the people of the North of that, I will warrant that the Union will not be dissolved—slavery will be abolished. Yet I think it very likely the Union will be dissolved, and the reason is this: the people of the North are not convinced that liberty is better than the Union; they think that the Union is better than liberty; and therefore they are unwilling to take that position of opposition to slavery before which the Slave Power would go down. They allow the Slave Power to go on strengthening itself from year to year, gaining one triumph after another, always by the threat of dissolving the Union; and at last it will become so strong that it will think it can really dissolve the Union and maintain itself. I think, therefore, the probability is, that before slavery comes to an end, the Union will be dissolved by the act of the South, not by the act of the North. You will not convince the people of the North that the Union ought to be dissolved, but the people of the South will by and by come to the conclusion that it is safer and easier and pleasanter to dissolve the Union, and set up a slaveholding Republic for themselves. Well, suppose they do, what will be the result of that? I have no doubt that what our friend Foss said will turn out perfectly true—they will find that they cannot maintain a slaveholding Republic a single year. They will think they can, but they cannot.

There is the financial question—where will they get the money? The revenue of the Republic is about fifty millions annually. Where does it come from? Some two or three millions come from the sale of the public lands, the rest from customs.—Where is this collected? In 1850, thirty-seven millions were collected in the port of New York, seven millions in Boston, and throughout the whole South, the amount collected was only about six millions.—How are they going to maintain a slaveholding Republic on that sum? It has got to be a military Republic—they have got to arm themselves at once against the whole world—and a military Republic costs money. They will have to resort to direct taxation before the end of the first year of their new government, and who is to be taxed? The slaveholders are the only persons who have property; they own half the property of the South. Of four thousand millions of dollars, the assessed value of the real and personal estate of the slaveholding States, two thousand millions, certainly, are owned by the three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders—the six millions of free white men only own the other half. When the time of direct taxation comes, the slaveholders will find that it will be cheaper to abolish slavery, and come back into the Union as free States, than to remain outside as a slaveholding Republic. In my opinion, that is the way slavery is to come to an end. But, still, the only thing we can do is to go on with the moral machinery against slavery. That is your work. Your work is to show that slavery is wrong. You think, perhaps, you are doing your great work in trying to effect the dissolution of the Union. You will never do that, but you will do something better than that. You will keep the moral question of right and wrong before the people; and in doing that, you will do your work, because, talk as we please about the importance of other methods, without that method we can never do anything. This is the corner-stone which must lie at the bottom of the Anti-Slavery movement in this country. The people of the North must be convinced, through and through, that it is wrong to hold slaves; and then, when the time comes in which the people of the South will say, 'We are going to separate from you, because we are determined to have a slaveholding Republic; we are not going to emancipate, and you are such Abolitionists we cannot remain in the Union with you,' the people of the North will be prepared to say—'Go! Don't stop an hour on our account!'

I know I have already spoken too long, but I want to say yet one thing more. Let us distinguish, not only between things which differ in the State, but between things which differ in the Church. There are different things going by the name Church, Christianity, Religion. Now, if I thought that Christianity was a slavery-defending Christianity, I should relinquish it quite as soon as brother Foss said he should. There are two kinds of piety. You remember the story of Father Hopper. A man came to him one day and said, 'I want you to pay this due bill for twenty dollars on the estate which you are to settle.' 'I will see about it,' said friend Hopper. Very soon after, the man came again, and said, 'I want six dollars very much, and if you will give me six dollars, I will let you have that due bill.' Friend Hopper thought that was a little suspicious, so he hunted through his papers, and at last found a receipt in full for the money, with a memorandum that the due bill had been lost, but when found was to be given up. The next time the man came, friend Hopper said to him, 'Friend Jones, I understand you have got religion lately.' 'Yes, thank the Lord,' said friend Jones, 'I have got religion.' 'Well,' said he, 'I understand you have been dipped. Did you ever hear of James Wilder, who was dipped?' 'No,' said he. 'Well,

the neighbors say that when he was dipped, the crown of his head did not go under, and the devil has been playing the mischief with him ever since. I think the crown of your head did not go under the water; look at that receipt!' (Laughter and applause.) We have eminent men, pious men—Dr. Nehemiah Adams, President Lord, Bishop Hopkins—who write books to show that slavery is a good thing, and that all the mischief is done by the anti-slavery men—the Abolitionists. They did not get well dipped. They ought to be dipped again. The crown of their heads was left out, or else it must be explained in another way—the way in which a Methodist minister once explained the state of some brethren who came to be ordained. One of them, after being examined, went out, and the preacher got up and said, 'Our brothers are good men, pious men, no doubt; but somehow, there is a soft place in their heads.' Just as he said this, he turned round, and saw the two brothers looking fire and fury at him. But, without changing a muscle of his face, he went on and said, 'But, my brethren, which of us haint got a soft place in his head?' (Laughter.) Now, I think our brothers who write these books must have a soft place in their heads, or else they have not been dipped all over.—That is to say, there is something the matter with the men, who, in this age of the world, and in this country, come forward to defend slavery as a Christian institution; there is something the matter, either with their heads or their hearts. I take it there is a soft place in their heads—that is the charitable construction, at least.

Mr. SPOONER—I think they have a hard place in their hearts. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. CLARKE—I agree that there is another explanation still, and I will tell another story in reference to that, and then take my seat. A man once lived at Yellow Banks, in Kentucky—a place I once visited—who had a great reputation in that State as a public speaker, whose name was Joseph M. Davis. He once went to Washington to argue a case before the Supreme Court, and when he got back, one of his neighbors called to see him, and asked him, 'Did you see the great men at Washington?' 'Yes.' 'Who was the greatest man you saw?' 'I think John Jay was the greatest man.' 'Did you see Thomas Jefferson?' 'Yes.' 'What did you think of him?' 'Well,' said he, 'I will tell you. You want to buy a cider barrel.' 'Yes, sir.' 'Well, I have got some to sell. There is a good cider barrel—good staves, good hoops, and a good top to it; lift it up! it has got no bottom to it. That is what I think of Thomas Jefferson.' (Laughter.) That is what I think of the Christianity of men who, as Christians, undertake to defend slavery; it has got no bottom to it. It has got good staves, good hoops, a good top, but take it up—it will not hold water. (Applause.)

I believe the great influence that is to overthrow slavery is Christ, and His Church. I believe that Christ is present wherever two or three meet together to do any act of righteousness, any act of generosity, any act of humanity. I find my church, whether it is called a church or not, wherever I find men with whom I can work in the cause of God on earth, which is the cause of man. That is my church, as long as I live; and wherever I find such a church, whether it is called by the name of a Christian Church, or whether it rejects the name of a Christian Church, it is still to me the Church of Christ. There Christ dwells, my master, my friend, the friend of humanity and of human rights. I believe he is here. Whether we call him our master or not, he is our master, our leader, our friend, whenever we are endeavoring to do anything in the cause of man. So, friends, I say go forward! If you think the dissolution of the Union is the thing to strive for, strive for that. If you think that in any other way you can best labor for the cause of the slave, I will not hinder you; I will help you as well as I can; and, by the blessing of God, the day will certainly come when we ourselves, or our children, or our children's children, shall meet in this beautiful grove, hearing the sweet song of these pines over our heads, to celebrate the day, not of West India emancipation, but of the emancipation of the slaves in the United States of America. (Loud applause.)

Mr. Foss inquired of Mr. Clarke whether, if he did not preach dissolution, he did not preach a non-compliance with the pro-slavery compacts on which the Union rests.

Mr. CLARKE replied that he did. He said there were certain things they were bound to say to the South they would not do, because they were wrong, and then if the South chose to remain in the Union, the North need not insist on a dissolution.

Mr. Foss said that Mr. Clarke was a Garrisonian, without knowing it. He would remove the very foundations on which the Union rests, and that was all the Garrisonians proposed to do.

Mr. CLARKE replied that the difference between them was, he did not believe the Union rested on those compacts. He thought they could put slavery out of the Union, and still the Union stand. He did not think the United States Constitution was a pro-slavery document, nor did he call it an anti-slavery document, though he believed it was more anti-slavery than pro-slavery. He thought it was an inconsistent document, and he wanted to purify it of its inconsistencies, and make it altogether an anti-slavery document.

The PRESIDENT said this question opened a wide field of discussion, which he hoped would be entered upon in the afternoon. He thought that every old Abolitionist knew that the Constitution could not be a little pro-slavery and a little anti-slavery; it was not a half-and-half document, but something pretty decided, one way or the other.

Mr. MAY said, The last speaker, in referring to the holidays of this country, said that the Fourth of July would undoubtedly always stand as one of them, and, when fairly used to commemorate the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence and the great truths set forth in that instrument, would be a most useful and valuable one. He (Mr. May) need not remind this audience how long and faithfully the abolitionists had labored to rescue that day from the shameful uses to which it was commonly prostituted throughout this mis-called republic. It was not of this, however, that he wished to speak, but to remind his hearers that the last Fourth of July had been well used by one gentleman, the Rev. W. R. ALGER of Boston. (The mention of Mr. Alger's name was greeted with instant and general cheering.) That gentleman had delivered a very admirable, faithful, and powerful oration before the city authorities of Boston. He did not hesitate to say this, although he had not yet read a line of it—a pleasure he soon hoped to have. But this he knew—that Mr. Alger had rebuked, as an honest man should, that act, the baseness and heartless audacity of which language is unequal to describe, by which J. M. Mason of Virginia, the author of the Fugitive Slave Law, had been brought to the soil of Massachusetts, and upon the very sod of Bunker Hill itself, on the recent occasion of raising there the statue of Gen. Joseph Warren, the hero and martyr of that early struggle. Mr. Alger had rebuked and denounced that act as one of 'complimentary flunkeyism'—words most fitting! none more appropriate, more needed, or more happily chosen had been uttered that day in any part of the land. (Cheers.) He thanked Mr. Alger for them, in the name of every man and woman who loved Massachusetts, and whatever was great and good in her early history. The effect which those two words had produced upon the soulless men, who are striving to bring back Massachusetts to a worse than colonial bondage, sufficiently prove that Mr. Alger had given a most admirable oration, one every way worthy of the day on which it was pronounced. 'Complimentary flunkeyism! That was the oration—a volume condensed in two words; and it would go,—indeed it had gone,—on the wings of the wind to the remotest corners of the land.

Mr. May said he held in his hand, and would read a brief note from Mr. Alger, in reply to an invitation sent to him by the Committee of Arrangements of this meeting:

SWAMPSCOT, July 30th, 1857.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON:

DEAR SIR: I thank you for your very kind note, and should be glad to accept the invitation it brings, did not a previous engagement, which I cannot honorably break or evade, forbid.

With cordial sympathy in the celebration, and with great respect for those who are to unite in it, I am,

Very respectfully yours,

WILLIAM R. ALGER.

The meeting then adjourned to 2 1-4 o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON. The audience punctually re-assembled, upwards of one thousand persons being reckoned present,—some placing the number much higher.

The second hymn was sung:

'I hear a shout of joy
From India's sea-girt shore.'

Dr. J. S. ROCK, of Boston, was introduced to the audience and spoke as follows:

REMARKS OF DR. ROCK.

I do not know that I can say anything to interest you to-day, or to increase your interest in 'the day we celebrate,' or in the people in this country whose liberty we are all anxious to secure.

I can say, however, that it is cheering to see so many of the friends of freedom assembled here, to celebrate the dawn of liberty to the colored people of the British West Indies, and to enter into new vows of duty.

Those islands are now in a hopeful condition, and active measures are on foot to induce the laboring classes to cultivate the soil.

It is believed by many that those islands are in a worse condition now than they were before the slaves were emancipated. This is not true of those islands as a whole, though it is true with regard to many of the estates. The planters would have the emancipated slaves work for a trifle—this they refused to do, preferring to 'play for nothing,' sooner than 'work for nothing.' This oversight of the planters in refusing to pay a reasonable price for labor caused many of their estates to go to ruin, and all of their property to depreciate. If they had paid fair wages, a single year would have shown them, in the increase of their crops, the advantage of free over slave labor. But they held the pence so near their eyes that they could not see the pounds a little distance before them.—*Their* failures, they unhappily call the failures of emancipation!

England, generous to the planters, paid them well for the flesh and life-blood of the slave. But the poor outraged and injured slaves themselves, many of whom had become aged, infirm and worn out, in serving their masters, and making them rich—these she gave nothing but a fair chance to test the charities of an unfriendly world. Now, if a slave was worth an hundred pounds to his master, he was worth at least twice as much to himself. And if England could afford to give the master five hundred dollars, who never worked an hour to promote the interests of her colonies, certainly she could afford to have given the man one thousand, who had been her slave for life. This, however, she did not do, and she did not even offer a stimulus to make him industrious, by protecting his labor. The English system of free trade unfortunately forces the British free laborers in Jamaica to compete with the Spanish slaves of Cuba.

Being left without means to enter into business or agriculture, and with no fair compensation offered for labor, their condition even as free men was far from enviable. But they have been and are continually surmounting it. Many have commenced by picking fruits for the markets, then buying a small patch of land and tilling it, and gradually adding to it year by year as the crops are sold. In this manner, many who were once under the driver's lash have now become quite wealthy, and have not been whipped when they go to church, nor had their teeth knocked out when they suck the sugar-cane.

The moral condition of those Islands is much improved; and though it is not so good as we could wish, yet it is far better than that of France or Italy.

Education is highly encouraged. All offices are open to them, and there are in Jamaica, Editors, Barristers, Justices of the Peace, Special Magistrates, Aldermen, Assembly-men and Judges; and Mr. Jordan, a colored gentleman, is Mayor of Kingston, the largest city in the British West Indies.

I rejoice, to-day, to be able to thank England for what she has done. I hope she will do more. Those people have a heavy claim upon her, are loyal subjects, and worthy of her kindest care and consideration.

The condition of the masses is continually improving, and the wonderful progress which they have made under very adverse circumstances shows us at least that the Anti-Slavery movement is not a failure, and that the blacks know how to take care of themselves.

The slaveholders understand this very well, and whenever they think their slaves have got the idea of freedom in their minds, they are almost frightened out of their wits.

In this connection, Dr. Rock referred to the imaginary insurrection in Tennessee, last winter, and paid an eloquent tribute to the negro martyr who refused to reveal what he knew of the plot, though tortured to death by the whip of his cruel and vindictive master. He also referred to Hayti with a good deal of pride, as proving the capacity of the blacks for self-government. A half century ago, Hayti was a vast slave plantation; now she is the eighth nation of the world with regard to revenue, and numbers among her population men of great scientific and professional acquirements, and eminently successful in every department of business.

Dr. R. said he would not monopolize the time, and concluded by remarking that the only question in this country was, whether we had the backbone to meet the enemy face to face. Every thing taught us that the Slave Oligarchy intended, not merely to make Kansas a slave State, and New England the hunting-ground for slave-stealers, but to place the whole country under the iron rule of the slaveholders.

Mrs. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER came forward, and with an earnestness and depth of feeling, to which no report can do justice, said:

REMARKS OF MRS. FOSTER.

I do not rise to make a speech, though I suppose I shall make a short one, notwithstanding that is not my object. The first speech I ever made in New England, to a public audience, was for funds; I hope the last will not be for that object. I hope to live to see the day when it will not be necessary to ask for funds, because the work for which we ask them shall have been accomplished. When I made that first speech, I dated emancipation ten years later, possibly twenty. Here we are to-day; twenty years have passed away, but still the slave wears his bonds; when his emancipation will come, I know not. But, Mr. President, neither you nor I understood, at that time, the length, the height, the thickness of the prison wall. Our young imaginations were dazzled with the wall of the ancient city,—its strength, its overhanging gardens, its sentinels and watch towers; but we did not dream that the length of the wall that hems in the slave is the boundary of the United States; we did not dream that that wall was garrisoned by forty thousand churches, with their members; we did not dream that intervening between church and church was the United States army, all armed and equipped, and ready for active service,—ay, *in* active service, with musket loaded and bayonet pointed; we did not dream that leading Doctors of Divinity were sentinels on its watch-towers; we did not dream that State Houses were at convenient distances, and the Capitol over the portico;—we did not dream this then, but we know it now. But, Mr. Chairman, although the strength of that wall, the length, and height, and breadth thereof have never been measured, one thing we know, and that is, that its foundation is of sand, and that the waves of public opinion which have been brought to bear upon them have loosened them somewhat. Yet now, those waves of public sentiment do not run so high and strong as they ought to run,—and why? 'Agitation,' said O'CONNELL,—thanks to that master spirit! I hope it is looking down upon us to-day,—'Agitation is the soul of reform!' Mr. CLARKE said this forenoon, what we all know, that the business of the Anti-Slavery Society was to create agitation, to send out missionaries to change the public mind. We come here delighted to hear fine speeches; and I own to the weakness of loving fine speeches myself; I love to sit here and have my heart touched, and the sympathetic tear spring to the eye, as it did to the eyes of many just now; but still, there is another work to do. I want the time to come when we can have a First of August jubilee for four millions of slaves in this land. You desire it as much as I. In order to get it, what is the work we ought to do? We think, all of us, that our work far transcends that of our fathers. We are to plant, in the prejudices and habits of the people, a conviction of what they merely uttered. We are to educate a nation, whereas they had but the small work of obtaining for themselves the right to rule. They got the liberty for three millions of people to tax themselves; we wish to release four millions of people from chattel slavery. We have got to do it by educating the people into the idea that the fathers announced. We must, therefore, support the missionaries. We have got to carry the means of anti-slavery grace to those who are without those means. They do not come here. Those who come here are those who do not need missionaries, and we are to send them to those who will not come to our meetings. We are to send out colporteurs,—not merely scatterers of tracts, but missionaries, to carry the true Gospel of Christ—the doctrine of doing to others as we would have them do to us—of loving God the Father, and giving evidence of it by showing love to His children. We have got to send missionaries to ministers, doctors of divinity, and bishops. Mr. Chairman, we have a few now, but we want more. We want them to go to those who will not come to us. We need scores instead of half a dozen. Why have we not got them? Why have we not in the field all those who have a tongue to speak, and a heart to feel? It is because we have not the material means for their support.

A short time since, after urgent requests for years, I consented to take the general agency of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and I will not be a general without soldiers (applause); and my soldiers must be fed and clothed, and their families must not be left to starve,—for 'he that provideth not for his own household is worse than an infidel,' and I do not mean that any of my soldiers shall be *worse* than infidel, though I expect them all to be that,—and I have resolved to enlist in the anti-slavery service every man and woman who has the gift of tongues, for public service, and they shall lash the waves of public sentiment into a fury such as they have never felt before, and the walls of slavery, garrisoned by Church, and State House, and Capitol, but founded on sand, shall tremble, if agitation will make them tremble;—and if a fox steps upon the wall, I ask, does it not tremble already? (Applause.) And therefore, Mr. Chairman, as we must have the material means, I went Southward, (who would have thought it?) to Philadelphia and New York, and felt the anti-slavery pulse of those cities,—much to my discouragement, if discouragement was not a word not to be used in such a case as this; and therefore I have come back to New England, to Massachusetts; for, after all—and it is not in the spirit of boasting that I say it, only in the spirit of fact—we know that Massachusetts does more even for the false Church, (and the false Church, of course, is thus supported because it is taken to be the true by the people,) for the Tract, Missionary and Bible Societies, and for every benevolent enterprise, than any other State, in proportion to its population and wealth; hence I made a mistake in going Southward, and I come back here and ask Massachusetts to set the example, and Plymouth County to set the example; and I implore the spirits of the Pilgrims to come here (they are here!) and inspire us with that love of liberty of conscience which they came here to gain for themselves and for us, if we are not bastard sons and daughters of noble sires. They came here for conscience sake, to secure liberty of conscience, and they look down with tears of blood,—if angels can weep tears of blood,—on their children, not possessed of liberty of conscience to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, or shelter the houseless. No conscience of ours is free to extend such acts of charity and mercy to the most wretched and forlorn of God's suffering poor, except at the hazard of fine, imprisonment, and death. The Pilgrims stand here and see that we are free only to be the watch-dogs, the sentinels of the veriest despots that ever cursed God's earth. O, Mr. Chairman, shall we suffer this? A lady friend said to me the other day, that a certain man ought to bleed for his country;—are we not ready to bleed? Our fathers bled from their pockets first, and from their hearts afterward. Are we ready to bleed from our pockets to-day?

I say, Mr. Chairman, that my soldiers shall be fed and clothed, and that their families shall not be left to starve; and further, that I am resolved that every man and woman who can be of service to this cause shall be enlisted in it. I am determined to go forward, and I ask you to help me. My soldiers must have money, and money they shall have, if it can be raised, in no other way, it shall be by mortgaging the little farm that I in part own. I have pledged myself to raise ten thousand dollars to carry on this work, before the first of September, 1857. We ought to have one hundred thousand; but, O! I am myself corrupted by the tainted atmosphere around me, and we all are, so that we have no zeal, no earnestness for this work. Ten thousand dollars will do but little. I will give one hundred dollars, and if necessary, one thousand; and if that will not do, two thousand, (and I do not know but that will drain my coffers); for the missionaries must be fed, the education of the people must be going on. This year, the first after a Presidential campaign, is the best year for us to operate in, and the next will be equally good, if we do our duty in this; and when another nomination is made, we shall, if we have done our duty, see something better politically than we did two years ago.

Some may think I am speaking under the impulse of excitement, and I wish to assure you it is not so. It is after consultation, in the quiet of my home, with my husband, who volunteers to work for nothing this year, and find himself. I will give now, as I said before, one hundred dollars; and I hope this afternoon we shall raise, not a few tens, as we have usually done, but hundreds or thousands, because, as Mr. CLARKE says, there is a 'crisis,'—because the crisis has arrived when I feel that to leave my daughter a home, to leave her even a dollar in money, when by sacrificing that home, by expending that money, I could leave her freedom, I should be violating a trust that God has committed to my care. As home is worth nothing when it cannot shelter the fugitive whom man has cast out, as money is worth nothing without liberty to do a humane and Christian act, my husband and myself have made up our minds, after consultation and deliberation, that money shall never be lacking while we have a dollar in our pockets. I hope every one in this audience will be inspired with the spirit of the Pilgrims, with the spirit of the Revolution, and inspired with that spirit multiplied into the greater importance of this occasion; that importance which transcends by far the importance of the emigration on the part of the Pilgrims, and the struggle on the part of our revolutionary fathers. (Loud applause.)

WENDELL PHILLIPS arose, and said that he wished to second Mrs. Foster's powerful appeal to those present for increased aid to the Anti-Slavery cause. He paid a tribute, which every one who heard him must have felt was no more than a just one, to Mrs. Foster's life-long devotion to the Anti-Slavery cause, and to her commanding eloquence,—an eloquence not of mere words, but of deeds, of her whole life. Mr. Phillips, with his accustomed force, and with his unequalled power to hold the attention of his audience, continuled to speak an hour and a half. The length of his speech prevents its publication this week; but a *verbatim* report of it may be expected at the earliest opportunity.

The third hymn was then sung, to the good old tune of *Lenox*:—

'Come, friends of freedom, all.'

The case of a young man, (then present in the audience,) who, in endeavoring to leave a rail-road train, in his flight from slavery, fell in such a way that two wheels of a car passed over his right foot, mangling and crushing the bones fearfully, was presented to the audience by Mr. MAY. FRANCIS JACKSON added some remarks, confirmatory of what Mr. MAY had said.—He said that this question was put to the young man: 'Would you have run away from slavery, if you had known at the start, that you would have lost one of your feet?' to which he replied, 'My master had offered to sell me, and I had made up my mind to run for freedom, and, had I known that I should have lost *both* feet, I should have run from slavery. I have not been long in freedom,—but long enough to know that freedom without feet, is better than slavery is with them.' After these remarks, the slave passed through the audience with hat in hand, and the sum of 34 dollars was soon deposited therein for his relief.

REMARKS OF C. L. REMOND.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND next spoke, FRANCIS JACKSON being in the chair. He said that he felt that the speeches which had already been delivered had answered every purpose of the occasion, and he had no disposition to occupy the platform, but he thought it no slight honor to be invited to follow the speakers who had preceded him. In the few remarks he should offer, he desired to call their attention to a subject which had attracted considerable notice, namely, the recent decision of Chief Justice Taney. He did this, not because he supposed his audience were not all well acquainted with this decision, but he differed in opinion with some who had commented upon and criticised that decision. He agreed in the sentiment so well expressed by Mr. Foss and Mr. PHILLIPS, that no true patriot in the United States had any thing to hope for his country save in the dissolution of the American Union and the trampling under foot of the American Constitution. The decision of Judge Taney was the legitimate result of the bargain our fathers and grandfathers made with the slaveholders, by which they bartered away the rights of the colored man. He did not agree with the opinion expressed by Mr. CLARKE, that that decision was in opposition to the letter, or spirit, or character of the American government—he believed it was in accordance with them all.

Mr. REMOND said that while Mr. JACKSON and Mr. MAY were speaking in reference to the case of the young man—a fugitive upon the platform—he felt as he had never felt before. It was but a short time since a celebration had taken place on Bunker Hill, in commemoration of the deeds of JOSEPH WARREN—a man who had declared, only about a hundred days before he died, that the natural right of every man to his freedom, and to the exclusive disposition of what he had honestly acquired by his labor, was a truths which common sense had placed beyond the reach of contradiction. What, then, would have been the testimony of JOSEPH WARREN, if he could have come from his grave, and confronted the father of the Fugitive Slave Law, when he was introduced by the flunkey WINTHROP to a New England audience on Bunker Hill? He believed that if the men who had invited Mr. Mason to Bunker Hill on that day had put their ears to the ground, they would have heard the bones of the patriot martyr clattering with indignation. (Loud applause.)

It was true that the manhood and citizenship of colored men had been denied, but what were their constitutional rights in the United States until their natural rights were secured to them? The only effect that this decision could have upon their condition was to drive them to a defence of their natural rights, and in securing these, they would secure their constitutional rights.

He (Mr. R.) could not allow this occasion to pass without reminding those present, that in the life and self-sacrificing devotion of Mrs. FOSTER was to be seen an illustration of a great truth which the sooner they should all embrace the better. As long ago as the Revolution, there was an Anti-Slavery Society in this country, but it had died out. Subsequently, many other societies and organizations had been established. Where were they now? Gone; and why? Simply because American slavery is dominant; simply because of the strength it had obtained from that Constitution and that Uuion to which reference had been made. He was sorry to hear his friend CLARKE say that he did not conceive the Union to be based on slavery. He (Mr. R.) wished to know on what other foundation it stood. Was there a man present who did not know that if the spirit of New England should rise to-morrow, and demand what JOSEPH WARREN demanded, the Union would not exist a day? He was surprised that his intelligent friend did not see this. The North had compromised and compromised, until their every right was gone. Why were they there to-day? Not simply because the slaves in the West Indies were emancipated, but to review the ground in our own country, and devise ways and means for the removal of the curse here. He hoped they would resolve, in the language of Mr. SPRAGUE, of their own county, to 'make Massachusetts a Canada to the fugitive slave,' and when they had done this, such men as Everett and Winthrop and Choate would be banished from our soil, and no slaveholder be allowed to pollute our State with his unholy tread.

Although a small man, Mr. R. said, he must be permitted to say that he had outgrown all feeling of degradation on account of his color. (Applause.) As far as true humanity, true nobility, true Democracy, true patriotism were concerned, he thought he was as tall as the whitest man who stood on New England soil, and a great deal taller than many he could mention. For himself, he should infinitely prefer to have the character that WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON will leave behind him, to that of Edward Everett, or Robert C. Winthrop, or Rufus Choate. And why? he asked. Because it cost nothing to eulogize GEORGE WASHINGTON, or to make eloquent speeches at Cambridge, but it cost a great deal to identify one's self with the black race in the United States.

In conclusion, Mr. REMOND said he did not care how soon Kansas and the other territories were admitted as slave States. He should go for slavery in Kansas as long as it was lawful, and constitutional, and patriotic, and democratic for it to exist in the District of Columbia. To the everlasting shame of the audience before him, and of the entire North, slavery was recognized and slaves punished, in the District of Columbia, by one hundred and four slave laws. Over the District of Columbia, every man and woman had jurisdiction; yet we lived on day after day in the recognition of those laws.

REMARKS OF WM. WELLS BROWN.

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN made the closing speech. His remarks were principally confined to a consideration of the different position occupied by the colored man in this country and in England. Here the colored man was regarded as a person to be despised every where, and what Judge Taney had declared officially was only what was said in nearly all the States about the colored man, at the present day. This fact proved that we needed a more genuine anti-slavery in the land—that they needed to go into the school-houses and small meeting-houses, as they did fifteen or twenty years ago, and preach the gospel of anti-slavery.

Behind the act of emancipation for the British West Indies was the decision of Lord Mansfield in the case of Somerset, that man could not hold property in his fellow-man. That decision not only settled the question of the right of a man to himself in Great Britain, but it prepared the way for that act of emancipation which Mr. CLARKE had read, and gave the colored man a position, not only in England, but in the islands of the sea under British dominion. If they examined British history, they would find there that respect for the colored man which is not found in the history of the United States. Here the colored man was forgotten, in our history, on our monuments; or, if remembered at all, he was colonized, as in the case of the monument at Fort Griswold, where the names of the colored soldiers are separated from the whites by six or eight inches, and a line drawn between, to indicate that they belonged to the proscribed race! In London, he had looked at Lord Nelson's monument, to commemorate the victory of Trafalgar, and there English justice had given a colored man a place next to the great hero. A few days afterward, when at Greenwich Hospital, he saw five or six colored men,—one walking on his crutch, and covered all over with medals, one given him when he followed Wellington through Spain, another after the battle of Waterloo, and others for having been engaged in different battles. There was no negro-pew at the Hospital, but the colored men mingled with and were treated like the rest. and he (Mr. B.) was told that there was no man in the Hospital who was held in greater respect than the old colored soldier, who always had an honorable place on festive occasions. He attributed this gratifying state of things to the fact that slavery had been abolished, and the right of the colored man to be free recognized in Great Britain and the West India Islands.

They could not expect to find the same feeling in this country. In order to secure it, they must labor untiringly; they must go forward with that determination to make the country anti-slavery that the slaveholders had to make it pro-slavery. Wherever the slaveholder found himself—at Plymouth Rock or at Bunker Hill,—he was ready to say a word in defence of oppression; and we wanted something of that determination on the part of the friends of freedom. When Algernon Sydney was in exile, he had a beautiful horse, which Louis the Fourteenth was very anxious to secure, and after in vain trying to induce Sydney to set a price upon the animal, he finally told him that if he would not sell the horse, he should take him. Sydney, finding that he must lose his favorite, asked permission to take farewell of him, which was granted, and he went up to him, gazed at him fondly for a few minutes, and then drew a pistol and shot him dead, saying to the French monarch, 'You can have him now.' That was the spirit of determination that was needed;—if not to shoot the slaveholder, at least to speed the arrow of truth with all the ardor they could, and act with that determination in favor of freedom which the slaveholder and tyrant always exhibit in behalf of slavery.

He felt it to be a privilege to labor in the Anti-Slavery movement, and for the elevation of the colored people, and he should labor until the time came when they should meet in that grove, or elsewhere, not to celebrate the Anniversary of British West India Emancipation, but to celebrate the anniversary of American emancipation—that emancipation that should set their enslaved brothers and sisters on the banks of the Potamac, the Mississippi, the Missouri, and every where, free. He wished that every one of them could know the feeling of the slaves upon the plains of Georgia to-day. How their hearts would leap if they only knew of this meeting, and of the words that had been spoken in their behalf! The slave longed to be free; he had in him that instinctive love of liberty which is the birthright of man, and knew that he ought to be free. They ought to labor, individually and collectively, in favor of freedom, and speak the word of truth every where and on every occasion. They ought to take advantage of the slaveholder wherever they could, as he took advantage of one recently while sailing on Cayuga Lake. There were some eight or ten passengers on board the steamer, and when they went down to breakfast, one of them, whom nature and the sun had made almost as dark as himself, on seeing him take a seat at the table, called out to the servant, 'Waiter, is this your usage? Do you allow black people to sit with white people?' The waiter hesitated, and seemed not to know what reply to make, and the man told him to call the captain. He (Mr. B.) wanted to turn the thing into ridicule, and by the time the captain came, he had decided what to do. The captain, as he came into the cabin, said, 'Who wants me?' 'I do,' I answered, (said Mr. B.) 'What do you want, sir?' 'Is this your usage? Do you allow your colored servants to sit at the table with white folks?' At this, all the passengers burst into a roar of laughter. 'Why,' said the captain, 'do you object?' 'O, no,' said I; 'if that is the usage, I must submit.' The man left the table, and went off without his breakfast, and I enjoyed my coffee, I assure you. (Laughter and applause.)

Let us be honest, said Mr. BROWN, in conclusion; let us be determined, let us act for the right, and let us be resolved, that come what may, we will speak, upon all occasions and at all times, when we can, a good word against oppression, and in favor of human rights. (Applause.)

Mrs. FOSTER, from the Finance Committee, reported to the meeting that the sum of $131,39 in cash had been collected by the Committee, and that pledges in aid of the cause had been given to the amount of $358, 50. Total, $489,89.

The time for the departure of the rail-road cars being near at hand, the audience united once more in singing. The fourth hymn was sung to the tune of *America*, better known as *God save the Queen*. And who, said Mr. May, will not say to-day, GOD SAVE THE QUEEN? So long as her dominions afford protection and a peaceful home to the fugitives from our Republican (!) despotism, and so long as she rules over a nation which strikes the chains from 800,000 subject slaves, I, for one, will say with all my heart, *God save the Queen!* AMEN, was shouted from every side.

After the singing, adjourned, *sine die*.

SAMUEL MAY, *Jr., President.*

CHARLES FOLLEN, } *Secretaries.*
WILLIAM C. NELL, }

FIRST OF AUGUST IN HOPEDALE.

The extended report of the proceedings of the celebration of the Anniversary of West India Emancipation, in the beautiful grove at Abington, not only excludes the usual summary of general intelligence, but prevents us from giving even a sketch of the very successful and highly gratifying commemoration of the same glorious event, at Hopedale, on Saturday last, in which it was our privilege to participate. Though for a time the weather presented a threatening aspect, the day happily proved to be all that could be desired for an out-door gathering, and upwards of a thousand persons (as choice a collection as we have ever had the pleasure of witnessing on any occasion) were present, manifesting an absorbing interest in all that was said and done, and evidently approving the strongest utterances against the Great Iniquity of America, and whatever designedly seeks to uphold it. The necessary absence of Mr. HIGGINSON (who was among the speakers announced) was much regretted; but the unexpected presence of Miss F. E. WATKINS helped to fill the vacancy very satisfactorily. More next week.

CALL FOR THE DISUNION CONVENTION.

The question has been asked, 'How many names are wanted to this Call?' Just as many, dear friend, as you can, by any possibility of exertion, obtain. Go far and wide, to every man and woman, and those who see the necessity of the Convention will sign the Call without any argument; others will need to be enlightened. You cannot do better service to the cause of the slave, and of the whole country, than in this work. Pray do not delay, and spare no expense of either time or money in making this Call a loud one.

☞ *Standard* and *Bugle* please copy.

CALL FOR A NORTHERN CONVENTION.

Whereas, it must be obvious to all, that the American Union is constantly becoming more and more divided, by Slavery, into two distinct and antagonistic nations, between whom harmony is impossible, and even ordinary intercourse is becoming dangerous;

And, whereas, Slavery has now gained entire control over the three branches of our National Government, Executive, Judiciary, and Legislative; has so interpreted the Constitution as to deny the right of Congress to establish freedom even in the territories, and by the same process has removed all legal protection from a large portion of the people of the free States, and has inflicted, at many times and places, outrages far greater than those which our fathers rose in arms to repel;

And, whereas, there seems no probability that the future will, in these respects, be different from the last, under existing State relations;

The undersigned respectfully invite their fellow-citizens of the Free States to meet in Convention, at ————, in October, 1857, to consider the practicability, probability, and expediency of a separation of the Free and Slave States, and to take such other measures as the condition of the times may require.

LEGAL VOTERS. | OTHER PERSONS.

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'How to Write,' 'How to Talk,' 'How to Behave,' and 'How to do Business,' same price. The four books, in paper, sent for $1; in muslin, $1 75. In one vol. muslin, $1 50. 2t Aug. 7.

☞ NANTUCKET.—CHARLES L. REMOND and ANDREW T. FOSS, Agents of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will hold Anti-Slavery meetings on the Island of Nantucket from Tuesday, August 18, to Sunday, August 23, inclusive. Particulars of time, place, &c. in local notices.

☞ ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION FOR THE CAPE.—The annual *Barnstable County Anti-Slavery Convention* will be held in EXCHANGE HALL, HARWICH, on Saturday and Sunday, August 29 and 30.

We invite the friends of freedom, without distinction of party or of sect, all who believe in a practical democracy and republicanism, and a vital Christianity, all who desire to see the country saved from the disgrace and damning guilt of slavery, to come from every town in the county, and elsewhere, and swell the Convention to an unprecedented number, and make it tell mightily on the cause of the slave's deliverance and our country's redemption.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, CHARLES LENOX REMOND, and other speakers have engaged to be present.

NATHANIEL ROBBINS,
WATSON B. KELLEY,
Z. H. SMALL,
CYRUS CAHOON,
JOSHUA H. ROBBINS,
} *Committee of Arrangements.*

☞ WM. LLOYD GARRISON will lecture in Warren Hall, South Danvers, on Sunday afternoon, August 9, at 2 o'clock—also in the evening, at 7 1-2 o'clock—on the present religious and political aspects of American Slavery.

☞ PORTSMOUTH, N. H.—PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the American A. S. Society, will lecture in Portsmouth, on Sunday afternoon and evening, August 9, in the Temple. at the usual hours for religious services.

☞ NASHUA, N. H.—WILLIAM WELLS BROWN will lecture on American Slavery in Nashua, on Saturday evening and Sunday, August 8 and 9, commencing Saturday evening, at 8 o'clock, and continuing through Sunday at the usual hours of service,

HOPEDALE

HOME SCHOOL.

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WM. S. HAYWOOD,
ABBIE S. HAYWOOD,
} *Principals.*

Hopedale, Milford, Mass. July 31, 1857. 4t

PROSPECTUS.

'INDIAN ARCANA,' an Illustrated Monthly, published by the '*Indian Medical Institute*,' at 36 Bromfield street, Boston, Mass. Edited by Rev. GEORGE C. BANCROFT, formerly of the New York, and late of the Providence, Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

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Indian Life, Religion, Medicine, CUSTOMS, &c.,

and designed to gather from the past and present material that shall serve as a monument to perpetuate the memory of the RED MAN. A Family Paper that cannot be excelled for *cheapness*, and serving as a companion for all.

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POETRY.

For the Liberator.

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION--THE FIRST OF AUGUST.

In the sea-girdled isles of the fair Caribbean,
Where Nature smiles ever in beauty and bloom,
And rose-garlands twine round the brow of December,
They have reared for the altar of Freedom a home!

Oh! fair is that Temple, 'mid orange groves gleaming;
More spotless and pure than the saint-shrines of old—
While Peace, her green olive-wreaths twining around it,
Bids the flower-buds of Love, Joy and Plenty unfold!

No blood-stain hath ever that altar polluted—
In quiet and beauty it rose, that bright morn,
When thousands, delivered from Slavery's bondage,
Of the blessed Millennium beheld the first dawn.

And to-day, when their Jubilee anthem is ringing,
To those fair island-homes we a greeting would send,—
And, in the glad triumph-song, heavenward rising,
Our voices with theirs in sweet harmony blend.

But, alas! a sad echo, all mournfully swelling,
Is borne to our ears as the breezes sweep by;
We know that sad wail is the voice of our brother,
The bondman, who toils 'neath our own Southern sky.

And now, where the altar of Freedom in glory
Should rise in our South-land, the slave-mart is seen;
And the star-spangled banner they've folded around it,
From the world's gaze no longer the foul thing can screen.

Through its soft azure folds, and the Eagle's spread pinions,
The scourge and the fetters, all blood-rusted, we view,
While Liberty, bound, and Humanity, trampled,
Proclaim that to God, as to man, we're untrue!

Oh, Slavery! shall thy dark presence forever,
Like a blight and a mildew, be spread o'er our land?
And the grave hush the groans of thy victims to silence?
Ah! sure than thine own there's a mightier hand.

There's an Eye that beholdeth each sin of our people;
No courts and no judges *His* law can repeal;
No 'Fugitive Bill' can shield *us* from His justice,
When to 'Heaven's High Chancery' the slave shall appeal.

Then let us be warned, ere, like Pharaoh of old-time,
Our hearts shall be hardened by sin and by wrong,
And the Red Sea of Carnage, engulphing our nation,
Tell that vengeance delayed still cometh ere long!

Oh! then let us hasten, while power is still left us,
To restore to our brother the rights which God gave,
And rear on our hill-sides the altar of Freedom,
While Love's pure white banner shall over it wave.

And then, while the ransomed ones shout their hosannahs,
Our voices, exulting, may join in the strain;
And, from Oregon's shores to the isles of Antilles,
No wail of the bondman shall join the refrain!

Barre, Mass. 1857. CARRIE.

For the Liberator.

TO THE REV. WILLIAM R. ALGER,

For his 'Fourth of July' Oration.

God be with thee, earnest teacher, friend and champion of the right;
Well and bravely hast thou spoken, taught by Truth's unerring light;—
Thanks, that thus thy noble spirit fear of man could never bind,
Nor the love of power or station fetter and control thy mind!

And 'tis well thou art thus fearless; we have need of men like thee—
Men who dare to speak of justice—men with courage to be free.
Strengthened by thine own high purpose, fearless still pursue thy way,
Ever do thy Master's bidding—God's, not man's behests obey!

Heed them not, foul Slavery's minions, who would thy free speech control—
They would crush the warm life-pulses of each free and generous soul;
Hush each voice that now is pleading for the true and right to-day,
And from Freedom's hallowed altar tear Humanity away.

But their shafts, by malice poisoned, harmless will around thee fall,
Shielded by Truth's golden armor, fearless thou canst meet them all;
For thy cause is high and holy, and 'tis blessed to endure,
When by suffering we grow stronger, still more earnest and more pure.

Then again we say, 'God speed thee!' give thee strength to bear the cross;
'Twill not be to thee a burden, like earth's heavy, worthless dross;
Earnest hearts will bear it with thee—thou canst never stand alone—
All the great and good are with thee, though, perchance, from this world gone!

Hear ye not their words of comfort? faithful brother, be of cheer;
For the fields are white for harvest—labor in God's vineyard here;
He will strengthen and support thee; bravely then go forth to toil,
Where the weeds of vice and error cumber and o'erspread the soil.

Falter not; but, calm and fearless, meet and combat giant Wrong;
Though he walketh yet unconquered, Truth is mightier—press thou on;—
From the stronghold of Oppression strive to set thy brother free,
And the Master whom thou servest, still will cheer and comfort thee.

Barre, July, 1857. CARRIE.

For the Liberator.

TEMPERANCE ADVOCATES.

Oh, blessed those who from the drunkard's lip
Snatch back the poisoned cup, and from his heart
Drive out the demon self in its worst form;
Who to the mourners round the desert hearth
Give back their prodigal, who went the brute,
But who has now returned again the man.
Wives, mothers, daughters, what do ye not owe
Your champions, your deliverers, those who save
Those ye love best from slavery most vile—
Most vile, because the slaves themselves desire it—
And ye, their happier sisters, who ne'er heard
Beloved lips mutter the stammering curse;
Ne'er shrank with inward loathing from the face,
Scowling with maniac rage, or from the smile
Of vacant, idiot imbecility;
Ne'er cowered with trembling from beneath the hand
Of blind and brutal fury, will ye not
Show you are grateful for your happier lot,
And help your wretched sisters, help to slay
The demon Drunkenness, cause of their woe?

Tenterden, (England.) JANE ASHBY.

The Liberator.

A POLITICAL SERMON.

Or which of you, if his son 'ask a fish, will he give him a serpent?'—BIBLE.

Or, if the people demand freedom for the territories, will you give them the Fugitive Slave Law?

The Seminole war, the annexation of Texas, the Mexican war, and their attendant atrocities, aroused the anti-slavery sentiment of the nation to a fuller examination of the exactions, and the unceasing encroachments of slavery. The result was an unalterable conviction, that in every aspect, socially, morally, or politically, to say nothing of it religiously, it was wrong, and nothing but wrong. Socially, it was sure to brutalize the slave, and make the master a tyrant. As the will of the master was his law, as this master was amenable to no tribunal but his own conscience, as he had unlimited power over his slave, as he could sell the slave husband and father, and send him where he could never again see his wife nor his children, could sell the wife and mother, and tear her for ever from her husband and children,—as he could expel the husband from the nuptial bed, and compel the wife to submit to the gratification of his brutal lusts,—as he could with impunity drive the daughter to prostitution, while the violated wife, mother, daughter and sister were left unprotected, and without legal redress,—as the injured husband, father and brother were denied any protection by human laws, and forbidden, under pain of death, to resort to those of nature for protection,—the public conscience was compelled to condemn the *social* influences of slavery.

Its *moral* evils seemed but its social extended. He who would defraud the laborer at night of what he had earned through the day, proved that he was lost to all moral sense of right, and ready not only to take by force what he could not obtain by contract, but also to invoke legislative aid to protect his contemplated iniquities. When this point of depravity was reached, and this help obtained, the whole moral nomenclature was changed. Things were no longer called by their right names. The frightful list of human wrongs, the extended catalogue of crimes and misdemeanors, of which those I have above enumerated are but part, were dignified and designated as 'Southern Rights.' An attempt to prevent the white man from cheating the black one, by fraud, force and the statute, to instruct and elevate the negro, or even the non-slaveholding white man, by exposing the social, moral and political character of slavery, was by this Southern lexicon denounced as a flagitious offence, punishable at the discretion of the mob, with any penalty they should see fit to inflict, even death itself. An incendiary was defined to be, in this new dictionary, a person who speaks the truth on the subject of slavery. As slavery not only subverted the terms by which right and wrong are expressed, but the very things themselves, it was condemned as a *moral*, as well as a social evil.

Passing from the social and moral aspect of this giant sin, it was evident that its political character must partake largely of its social and moral elements. When slavery was tolerated, (or rather fostered,) the slaveholders gradually usurped the government, and they resolved themselves into a ruling power the most cunningly devised, the most insidiously wicked, and the most difficult to overthrow short of rebellion, of any governmental system ever established. It demanded, for its own safety, that the free blacks and the slaveholding whites should also be brutalized. By the self-acting operation of the system, the *ignorant* slaveholders soon became divested of their slaves, their property, and their political rights, and thus the whole government was concentrated in a small, but intelligent and watchful aristocracy. As the great object of slavery, next to the concentration of political power, was to secure for the master the avails of the slave's labor, this labor, obtained on compulsion, became the sign of degradation; and whoever was compelled by necessity to wear the degrading badge, was, by the operation of this grand plan of demoralization and this subversion of terms, disfranchised, his political rights withheld; and when 'Southern Rights' are referred to, in the national councils or elsewhere, the rights of slaves, of free negroes, or of poor white men, are no more meant than the rights of horses. These three classes are deprived of all political power. They are disfranchised, and have no efficient participation in the government. Their rights are not lost, but they are usurped and controlled by the slaveholding aristocracy. In apportioning to the slave States their representation in Congress, and their vote for President, the non-slaveholders, the free blacks, and three-fifths of the slaves are counted, and the benefit of their numbers is given to and controlled by the slaveholding oligarchy. This aristocracy, though elective, is more dangerous to liberty, and more repulsive to republican equality, than a monarchy. It has ruled the slave States with more than despotic sway. It has been, and is now, their tyrant. Nor has its authority been confined to the slave States, or to their own government proper. It has subjected the free States to its domination, and has detailed to them, in all time past, what laws to pass, and what to forbear. It has prescribed their rule of political conduct; it has compelled Congress to make the protection of 'the peculiar institution,' the great object for which the Union was formed and the Constitution established; and whenever a determination has been shown to do what ought to be done, this Oligarchy has invariably compelled Congress to change its policy, by brutal violence, which has never been appropriately punished, by bribing Northern members, which has never been rebuked and exposed, or by threatening disunion, which has been so long resorted to, that it is now known as the appropriate and prescriptive remedy for all the dangers and ills that beset and surround slavery.

Is evidence of these charges demanded? It is at hand. I quote our nation's whole history. The assaults upon Giddings, on the floor of Congress; the murderous attack upon Sumner, with the universal approbation of the Oligarchy,—I quote in proof of the 'brutal violence.' Bribery is an every-day matter. The proof is to be deduced from the transaction. Lewis Cass was an original Wilmot proviso man, an opponent of the Texan rascality; but he was offered the nomination for the Presidency, and forthwith the Nicholson letter appeared. Gott's resolution to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia passed; but it was reconsidered by the aid of fourteen votes, who were originally in its favor, and then it was laid on the table, where it now lies. Of these fourteen members, eleven or twelve received executive appointments. When Texan bonds to the amount of ten millions of dollars had fallen to 15 per cent., the holders applied to Congress to pay them. Tens of thousands of this stock were devoted to buying up members of Congress, the bill was passed, and the stock rose to par. The defeat of this rascally act on its final passage in the House, its reconsideration and second defeat, and its second reconsideration, against all parliamentary usage, and against the Speaker's decision,—by a vote of the same House that had twice defeated the bill, overruling that Speaker's decision,—and the passage of the bill by the votes of members who had steadily voted against it, showed unmistakable bribery.

To the threats of disunion, I need not refer. But I may ask, in this connection, who have been our Presidents? What power has dictated the selection of our Presidential candidates? Who have been the Speakers of our House of Representatives? To whose interest have all these Speakers been devoted? Who have filled the principal offices in the army, the navy, and in the Cabinet? Who have received the most important diplomatic appointments? and, in the absence of the Vice President of the United States from the Senate, who does that body elect as their presiding officer? For whose benefit was the Seminole war got up? Who led off in the annexation of Texas, and for what purpose? Who plunged us into the Mexican war, and what was the object of that war? In the judicial department, who have been our Chief Justices? What sort of men have been appointed circuit and district judges? What kind of districts have been made, and where do they lie? Why does a third part of the white population, and a sixth part of the business, require a majority of the judges and the districts? Why are the vilest Northern doughfaces always appointed to the Northern districts? Why do all the judges of the United States Court invariably pervert the law, where questions of liberty and slavery come up for adjudication? Why is no judge ever confirmed by the Senate, who will construe strictly laws in derogation of human liberty? Why do these judges, who fill the highest tribunal in the nation, arbitrarily subvert the wisest principles of common law, common justice, ordinary humanity and common sense? Why did they decide that 'citizenship' was an incident of color and not of birth? Why do they construe laws in favor of liberty with rigid strictness, and those in favor of slavery with latitudinarian liberality? Why is the law, as expounded by these judges, always in favor of the slave aristocracy? What court first had the audacity to decide, in the face of the world, that a man's rights depended on his color—'that the black man had no rights which the white man was bound to respect'? Why has this court systematically continued its assaults on liberty, until its decisions stink in the nostrils of all law, all justice and all precedent? I have given the answer above. A further answer is found in the fact, that a majority of these judges are a part of this very aristocracy, and they are deciding their own cases.

Thus every department of our national government, all our resources, even the character of the government itself, have been sacrificed on the altar of Slavery,—extorting from every just man its unqualified condemnation, socially, morally, and *politically*.

Viewing slavery as it is,—seeing that it was evil, only evil, and that continually, many wise persons united and sent in respectful petitions to Congress to prevent the further spread of such an unmitigated curse. Thousands and tens of thousands united in these petitions, and the deep heart of the nation seemed moved. Was the request unreasonable? There was a vast uncultivated country, where no slave clanked his chains, where no tyrant ruled the manor, where no chivalric State could excuse itself for not doing what it should do, because of the impertinent interference of the Abolitionists. Congress had but to enact the thing prayed for by the petitioners, and the greatest of all curses was for ever averted. Did they do it? Nay, verily. Why did they not do it? Is not ours a 'republican form of government'? Is not Congress bound to obey the just demands of the people they represent? If they are, why was not a response rendered to these petitioners? An answer—a true and a just answer—is demanded. Was it because a greater number of the people had remonstrated against granting the petitions than had signed the petitions? No—for no such remonstrance was ever sent into Congress. Was it because the people opposed the thing prayed for? No—for no opposition was made by the people. Why, then, were their requests wholly disregarded? Why was the law they did ask for refused, and the Fugitive Slave Law insultingly imposed upon them? It was the treason of doughfaced Senators and Representatives. But the question arises, What threat was made that terrified these timid doughfaces from their duty, or what bribe seduced them? Who made the threat?—who offered the bribe?—what was that unseen power that could so effectually scorn the people, overawe their representatives, checkmate the law-making power of the land, and compel Congress to reject the law they were commanded to pass, and to enact in its stead one as abhorrent to the people as any law could be? In what light do these representatives who aided in passing this obnoxious law stand to their constituents, whose petitions they disregarded? Is a government controlled by such a centralized, efficient, unseen, irresponsible, but irresistible power, a republican government? If our government is not an oligarchy, what should have been its course towards those who threatened to dissolve the Union, if the legitimate prayers of the people were answered? We can give a truthful answer to all these questions. The threat that terrified the doughfaced Congressmen was the threat of disunion. But who made that threat? If even asked for by the North to favor liberty, the representative who should present their request to Congress would be insulted by the Slave Power, scorned by the doughfaces, and publicly reprimanded by Congress, as was done in the case of Mr. Giddings, and attempted in that of Mr. Adams, although each was backed by the people themselves. But if made by the Slave Power, without the people, a different rule prevails. The whole nation quakes. The knees of the doughfaces, who bore stout hearts to degrade Messrs. Giddings and Adams, smote like Belshazzar's, when the Oligarchy threatened. They did not fear the people, but they feared their tyrant. Their masters were before them. The whole Slave Power was congregated in Washington, and the doughfaced asses knew their masters' crib, and feared their lash. A threat of disunion made by the slaveholders was not to be scorned nor met with reprimand, but to be meekly received, and met with compromise. From the Oligarchy, there was no people to appeal to. The Union could not be sacred but by placating the wrath of this Oligarchy. To do this, nothing short of abandoning the 'Wilmot Proviso' and the people, on the one hand, and the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law on the other, would be accepted;—nothing less would 'save our glorious Union,' and the compromise was made. This Oligarchy was the power that governed and controlled Congress, and which compelled the cowardly, wicked and corrupt representatives of the North to desert their constituents, abandon the standard of liberty, join the Slave Oligarchy, and aid them to fight the battles of slavery against all justice and all right. But in what position do these representatives stand before their constituents? When an agent, deputed to perform certain specified duties for his superior, basely deserts his post, neglects his duty, and joins those he is sent to oppose, there seems to be but one answer as to the character he must sustain in the eyes of all honest men. When Congress was required to pass the 'Wilmot Proviso,' and instead thereof did actually pass the Fugitive Slave Law, there is hardly any word that can express the perfidy of the Northern faithless representatives.

And is a government controlled by such a concentrated aristocracy a 'republican form of government'? We know that in the slave States, the people have nothing to do but to submit to and ratify the edicts of the Slave Oligarchy. But few *can* read, and of those who can, fewer *do*, and none dare read any thing prohibited by their tyrants. The press, the post-office, and the bookstores, are under slavery espionage, and wo to him who reads or circulates the words of liberty! The government is an unmitigated despotism. The slave cannot vote, the free negro cannot vote, the mulatto cannot vote, and these classes constitute nine tenths of the people. And yet it is possible that these States have 'a republican *form* of government,' such as is spoken of in that clause of the United States Constitution which enacts that 'the United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government.' If the *form* only is meant, then the slave States may have it; but if the true meaning is, that the respective States shall be in *fact* what they are required to be in *form*, the United States have grossly neglected a plain and manifest duty. There is not a feature in slavery compatible with a republican government. But this is not the place to consider the non-feasance of Congress under this clause of the Constitution. It demands a special notice, and ample space; and reluctantly leaving it I inquire what Congress should have done with those members, who with threats of disunion so terrified the doughfaces that they not only deserted their constituents, but actually went over to their enemies? The threats, remember, were made to extend slavery. If slavery should be prohibited from cursing the then uninhabited territory of the United States, the Union was to be dissolved. Had the Northern members declared, with equal firmness, that if Congress did not pass the required statute, they would dissolve the Union, what would have been the course of the Southern members, the President, and their doughfaced allies, even with all their petitioners to sustain them? Would they not have been distinctly advised that an attempt to do so would result in war and treason, and be followed by certain punishment? Why this difference towards the friends of liberty and the friends of slavery? The answer is plain;—it is a slaveholding government, controlled by a slaveholding oligarchy, that has crushed the people, South and North, into the dust, and whether they can ever rise from their degradation is a problem yet to be solved. Tyranny rules our nation; it has become a science; it is acted and enacted as a drama. The characters are cast; Congress cheats the people with one set of lies or deceits; the President deceives them with another, or corrupts them with bribes; and the Supreme Court, degraded with former political corruption, and drunk with irresponsible power, perfects, with judicial anathemas, what Congress and the President cannot do, or which, fearing the people, they prefer deputing this branch of the government to perform. It is instructive to analyze the conjoint labors of all these departments, in any given piece of villany. Though apparently in opposition, they are sure to work out one common and predetermined result. Take the Nebraska swindle as an illustration. Its author and the law assert 'that it is the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into the territories, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the inhabitants thereof at perfect liberty to establish their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject' not to the law of God, but 'only to the Constitution of the United States.' Douglas and Congress leave the question of slavery 'to the inhabitants thereof,' and hand the cheat over to the next character in the drama, the President. He takes it up, and tells the *North* that 'the inhabitants thereof' means the people of the *Territory*, while at the *South* he asserts that the 'people thereof' means only the people when they shall become a *State*, and that the inhabitants of the *Territory* have no power to exclude slavery; and thus he passes the swindle along to the last act, reserved for the judges of the Supreme Court. In accordance with the original design, this court decides that 'the inhabitants thereof,' to wit, the people of the territories, have no right to exclude slavery therefrom. Thus the 'true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into the territories' is demonstrated by its very authors to be a lie, for this Supreme Star Chamber Court of the United States has decided that 'the inhabitants thereof' cannot *exclude* slavery from the territories; and Douglas, who, in the law, said they could, in the speech he got the Supreme Court's Grand Jury to invite him recently to make, has admitted they could not, inasmuch as he approved the construction which this court has put on this lying, Janus-faced law of his. Thus, after a long chase round Robin Hood's barn, he brings them back to the place they started from, with the gratifying assurance that 'the inhabitants thereof,' who were to be 'at perfect liberty to establish their own domestic institutions in their own way,' have just as much and no more liberty to do so, now the whole play is acted out, than they have in establishing those of the kingdom of Dahomey. From such Congressmen, such Presidents, and such Judges, both now and for ever, good Lord, deliver us! Amen. So mote it be! Selah.

L.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER.

We take the following extract from a private letter from AARON M. POWELL, dated GHENT, (Columbiana county,) N. Y., July 28, 1857:—

'Since the meeting at Waterloo, early in June last, I have been mainly at home. While in Albany, I had the doubtful honor (!) of attending the funeral of Gov. Marcy, in company with ex-Presidents PIERCE and VAN BUREN. Seward, Preston King, and other dignitaries of the State were in attendance. The display was magnificent *in its way*, surpassing any demonstration of the kind ever known in the city, except perhaps on the occasion of the death of DeWitt Clinton.

Marcy was a man of undoubted ability and strength of mind, and of very industrious mental habits; but, alas! the champion of the pro-slavery, border-ruffian 'Democracy,' and leader of a party than which it would scarcely be possible for one to have more of the spirit of diabolism, to what ignoble ends were his powers directed! By the clergy he was warmly eulogized as of most *exemplary and Christian character!* I learn that President Anderson, of the Rochester University, in giving his recent address to the graduating class of that institution, called special attention to Gov. Marcy as a *model man*, a *Christian*, whose life and character young men would do well to imitate!

On Sunday, July 5, Rev. Mr. Mayo preached a sermon of a deeply interesting character, suggested by the anniversary of American Independence. His subject was, 'Religious Freedom, the basis of Republican Institutions.' The importance of thorough, individual religious culture, the basis of true freedom, was shown with much clearness and force. I should be glad if the sermon, or an abstract of it, could appear in the *Standard*, or *Liberator*.

I rejoice to learn of the prospect of a Northern Convention in October next, to take into consideration the question of a separation between the Free and Slave States. It would seem that the time had arrived for such a Convention—that to the intelligent minds of the country, who give a thought to the subject, it must be apparent that the Slave Oligarchy, embodied in the National Government, should be at once and for ever broken up. That the Convention will prove an efficient auxiliary to the cause of freedom, I fully believe.

To-day is, I believe, the anniversary of the death of WILBERFORCE. It may yet prove necessary that his spirit should return to its former field of action, to help baffle that nefarious scheme for the revival and legalizing of the slave trade, under another name. Lord Brougham's opposition, arousing public attention, may cause a temporary abandonment of the monster plot. God speed the day when the evil genius of oppression shall cease to be!'

MR. SUMNER IN LONDON. Bayard Taylor, writing to the *Tribune*, under date 'London, July 1,' says:—'Mr. Sumner is here, at Maurigy's Hotel, in Regent street. I have not yet seen him, but some friends tell me he is looking very well. No American has ever been more popular in England than Mr. Sumner, and he is at present floating on the top wave of London society. I heard the other day a good story of his arrival here. He entered his name upon the book as simply "Mr. Sumner, Boston," and was accordingly set down by the host and his flunkeys as an ordinary traveller. The next morning one of the latter came to Mr. Sumner's room in some excitement, and said: "Lord Brougham is down stairs, sir, asking for you." To the waiter's amazement, Mr. S. quietly said, without exhibiting the least surprise—"Very well; show him up." Not long afterward, the former came, still more excited: "Sir, the Lord Chief Justice has called, and he asks for *you!*" "Show him up," was again the cool reply. After his lordship had departed, the waiter came once more, bewildered and a little aggravated: 'Sir, *sir*, the Lord Chancellor of England has called to see you!" "Show him up," repeated Mr. S. These astonishing facts were no doubt at once communicated to the landlord, for the next day's *Morning Post* announced the arrival of "His Excellency, the Hon. Mr. Sumner, at Maurigy's Hotel."

From the Glasgow Telegraph of July 11.

SAILING OF LADY FRANKLIN'S EXPEDITION.

Last Wednesday, at a very early hour, the city of Aberdeen was a scene of bustle and excitement. The inhabitants were hurrying hither and thither, their countenances bearing the impress of a mixture of anxiety and hope. A great event was at hand—not the arrival of Royalty, in search of Highland seclusion—not the visit of a French Prince on a scientific exploration—not the return of the brave Highlanders from a Russian campaign; but an event of far greater significance, and of transcendent importance to the cause of humanity—lady Franklin's screw steamer the Fox was appointed that morning to sail for the Arctic Seas, in search of the remains of the long-lost navigator and his intrepid band. The spectators crowded the docks to catch a glimpse of that gallant captain and daring crew who had undertaken the perilous voyage. Lady Franklin and her niece were there, blessing the expedition; and as the brave ship weighed anchor and stood out to sea, the lusty cheers of the assembled thousands unmistakably testified that the noble efforts that lady had made—though timidly deserted by a government in whose service her husband and his followers had embarked—to investigate and clear up the haze still hanging about the Arctic Expedition, were fully appreciated. And amid those cheers which rent the air when the Fox steered away towards the icy North there was many a prayer that 'the forlorn hope' might, by the blessing of Providence, reach its destination in safety, accomplish the wished-for object, and return freighted with all that Humanity can now expect—the bones of the intrepid navigators. The most distant surmise that any of the band can be still alive has long since faded away; the Fox now sails to search for their remains. The sturdy Highlander readily doffed his bonnet as the little vessel gradually became less, and looking heavenwards, whilst tears trickled down his manly cheek, blessed the noble lady who had staked her all in the enterprise, and trusted, fondly trusted, that her womanly devotion might meet with due reward.

Yes; Lady Franklin's expedition has sailed: in a few days hence it will reach the ice, where the hardships of an Arctic voyage commence. To Captain M'Clintock and his gallant crew we sincerely wish God speed! There must be relics in existence which will afford a satisfactory clue to the fate of the lost Sir John Franklin and his companions; the remains of such an expedition as that which he commanded cannot yet be utterly obliterated. Besides, the Fox sails under specially favorable auspices. Captain M'Clintock will doubtless be enabled to profit by the experience of all the previous searching expeditions; they have extended over a wide expanse of ground; he has now but a comparatively small space to explore;—that done, the work will be thoroughly accomplished—every mile of those ice-bound regions will have been minutely examined. With perseverance, then, there is every hope of success. The adventurous voyagers have a duty to perform to mankind: let it be done well; let them show to the world what private enterprise is capable of achieving. In England, it has already done much; we need no government aid in the construction of our railways; we build monstrous steamers, bridge mighty rivers, tunnel mountains, and stretch the electric wires across the broad Atlantic, without the aid of the State. It lies, then, with Captain M'Clintock to add another link to the chain, and to proclaim to the civilized world that when governmental resources were withheld, a private lady, aided by a few devoted friends, took up the task, and conducted it to a glorious termination. We shall hail with unfeigned satisfaction the first announcement of the Fox's safe arrival at its place of destination, and exult with joy when we learn that the last memorials of the Arctic voyagers are 'homeward bound,' and that this noble enterprise has been crowned with success.

PROPERTY RUNNING OFF WITH PROPERTY. A Southern gentleman, Mr. Charles Parlange, who was staying at the Girard House, accompanied by two ladies and a negro valet, was robbed yesterday afternoon, under the following circumstances. He had designed going to New York by the 5 P. M. train. With this view, he despatched the negro valet with his more valuable baggage to the foot of Walnut street. Among the baggage were two tin boxes containing a large amount of money. The negro received them, and wended his way; but, knowing the contents of the boxes, his honesty succumbed to the temptation, and he eloped with them. He was seen afterwards in company with another negro, and it is altogether probable that, being a slave, he is already on the underground railroad, bound North. We are informed that this man Jim, as he is called, has hitherto proved the possessor of entire integrity, and has repeatedly travelled North, without evincing the desire to abandon his master. Mr. P. would have done better had he entrusted his baggage in the care of the proprietors of the Girard.—*Philadelphia North American, July 27.*

WEST INDIES. The experiment of Cooly emigration does not appear to be working very well in British Guiana. The *Royal Gazette*, of Demarara, announces that the mortality on board the 'Merchantman,' emigrant ship from Calcutta, exceeded any thing that had ever occurred in the records of emigration in that colony. 143 died on the voyage, 60 were conveyed to the hospital on their arrival, and of these, five died while they were being conveyed, and several others had since expired in the hospital. We give the statement of the *Gazette*, accounting for this frightful calamity:—

'It appears from the investigation, that the Coolies selected were a set of sickly, emaciated creatures—the refuse of the emigrants collected for the Mauritius and other places; and when put on board were more fit to have been sent to a hospital than on a sea voyage. Many died of cholera during the passage down the Hooghly, and many more of dysentery and diarhœa before they reached the Cape. Ship fever then broke out with fearful virulence, and the whole ship became a sort of general hospital, in which the sick and the healthy were indiscriminately huddled up together. The arrangements of the ship, made under the orders of the emigration authorities at Calcutta, were injudiciously made. The platforms erected around the ship obstructed the ventilation; the privies too, were an intolerable nuisance; and the changes which have been made in the dietary tables by the substitution of better food than the emigrants have been accustomed to, were found productive of injurious effects. These, and several other causes combined, have led to the most severe mortality that has ever occurred on board any emigrant ship coming to this colony. It is but due to the captain and surgeon to say, that they did all they could to prevent the progress of the disease, and to ameliorate the condition of those unfortunate people.'

WHAT THE MORMONS THINK. Brigham Young's organ, the Deseret *News*, thinks that the Dred Scott decision sanctions polygamy as well as slavery, and we incline to the belief that it is right. It says:

'The Supreme Court of the United States has decided that an act of Congress known as the Missouri Compromise, about which politicians have harped so much, is unconstitutional, and therefore null and void, and that Congress has no power over the question of polygamy. Those 'twin relics of barbarism' (Slavery and polygamy) *can now flourish wherever the people will it in any of the Territories of the United States*, and Uncle Sam can attend to his own legitimate business without troubling himself any further about them.'

☞ An ingenious piece of mechanism, designed to enable a person to record his thoughts or observations, while travelling in the cars, in a crowd, or in any place where ordinary writing apparatus cannot be used, has been invented by Mr. Benjamin Livermore, of Hartland, Vermont. The paper on which the writing, or rather printing, is impressed, is coiled around two cylinders, which revolve as the lines are completed, and the letters are worked by a set of keys. No ink is required; the letters being colored by a prepared blue paper, against which the writing paper is pressed at each movement of the keys. The machine works with great accuracy and much facility, and is very compact, not exceeding four inches in length by about two and a half inches in width. It can easily be carried in a side pocket, and can be used without taking it from the pocket. By it, a blind person might be taught to write.

IN MEN'S APPAREL. Catherine Craw has been arrested in Oswego, N. Y., for being in male attire. Catherine, it is stated, has lived in Oswego some six months, all the time in the employ of Mr. Jones, fruit dealer, as an errand boy, etc., and has been noted for her honesty, modesty, industry, and general good behavior. She says she has been in male attire for three years, and assumed the dress in order to earn better wages than she could get as a girl, and she had succeeded in laying up a little money. She is aged 19, and a dirk knife was found on her person, which she states she carried for the purpose of defending herself, should her sex ever have been discovered, and an attempt made to trifle with her honor.

AYERS'
SELF-ACTING
FARM WELL,
OR APPARATUS FOR CATTLE
To Draw Water for Themselves.

THIS apparatus is designed for pastures, yards, and all places where a stream of water is not accessible. By means of a platform properly adjusted in front of the watering-trough, the weight of the animal is made to draw water from the well on approaching it to drink. It is simple in construction, not likely to get out of order, and cannot fail to recommend itself to farmers as an important labor-saving machine, dispensing with all the trouble of pumping or drawing water by hand power. A sheep will raise the bucket with water in proportion to his weight, taking a little more time to accomplish it. A horse, or other heavy animal stepping upon the platform, the bucket instantly rises and discharges its contents into the trough, and, as he steps off, drops back into the well, to be filled ready for the next comer. By this means, animals can be left by themselves in the most distant pastures, without any care or attention on the part of the owner, other than to dig a good well; and so long as there is a supply of water in it, there can be no difficulty in the way of the animals supplying themselves.

The undersigned is proprietor of the patent right to this invention for Worcester County, and is prepared to dispose of individual rights on favorable terms. Also, proprietor's grant for the sale of State, County, or Town rights. ALVIN WARD.

Ashburnham, April 20, 1857.

The undersigned have carefully examined the Self-Acting Farm Well, as put in operation by Mr. Alvin Ward, of Ashburnham, and cheerfully give our testimony to its excellent adaptation to the purpose for which it is designed. Its operation is simple, and the apparatus easily constructed, cheap and durable. It must, we think, form a very acceptable and labor-saving addition to the conveniences of every farm-yard where running water is not easily obtained, and a valuable means of providing water in pastures where the supply is not permanent.

A. GREEN,
E. GARFIELD,
A. R. SMITH,
J. H. FAIRBANKS,
J. L. JOSLIN.

Fitchburg, Jan. 19, 1857. Ap. 24.

IT IS NOT A DYE!

PRESIDENT J. H. EATON, L. L. D.,
Union University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee,

Says: 'Notwithstanding the *irregular* use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, &c. *the falling off of hair ceased, and my grey locks were restored to their original color.*'

REV. M. THACHER (60 years of age), Pitcher, Chenango Co. N. Y. 'My hair is now restored to its natural color, and ceases to fall off.'

REV. WM. CUTTER, Ed. Mother's Magazine, N. Y. 'My hair is changed to its natural color, &c.'

REV. B. P. STONE, D. D., Concord, N. H., 'My hair which was grey, is now restored to its natural color, &c.'

REV. D. CLENDENIN, Chicago, Ill. 'I can add my testimony, and recommend it to my friends.'

REV. D. T. WOOD, Middletown, N. Y. 'My own hair has greatly thickened, also that of one of my family who was becoming bald.'

REV. J. P. TUSTIN, Charleston, S. C. 'The white hair is becoming obviated, and new hair forming, &c.'

REV. A. FRINK, Silver Creek, N. Y. 'It has produced a good effect on my hair, and I can and have recommended it.'

REV. A. BLANCHARD, Meriden, N. H. 'We think very highly of your preparations, &c.'

REV. B. C. SMITH, Prattsburgh, N. Y. 'I was surprised to find my grey hair turn as when I was young.'

REV. JOS. McKEE, Pastor of the West D. R. Church, N. Y. REV. D. MORRIS, Cross River, N. Y. MRS. REV. H. A. PRATT, Hamden, N. Y.

☞ We might swell this list, but, ifnot convinced

TRY IT. MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S ZYLOBALSAMUM,

Or World's Hair Dressing, is essential to use with the Restorer, and is the best Hair Dressing for old or young extant, being often efficacious in cases of hair falling, &c. without the Restorer.

Grey haired, Bald, or persons afflicted with diseases of the hair or scalp, read the above, and judge of

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER.

It does not soil or stain. Sold by all the principa. wholesale and retail merchants in the United States, Cuba, or Canada.

DEPOT, 355 BROOME-STREET, New-York.

☞ Some dealers try to sell articles instead of this, on which they make more profit. Write to Depot for circular and information.

Wholesale Agents. Boston—ORLANDO TOMPKINS 271 Washington Street. Madam DEMOREST, 238 do. BURR, FOSTER & Co. GEO. C. GOODWIN.

March 27 6m

ELOCUTION

IS rapidly rising in favor, and a competent teacher of this art will supply a long-felt want. Miss H. G. GUNDERSON, 16 Bradford street, offers her services in this department to Colleges, Academies, Schools, professional gentlemen, ladies, and all who wish toacquire a correct style of reading and speaking.

Miss G. has permission to refer to the following gentlemen:—

G. F. THAYER, Esq., late Principal of the Chauncy Hall School.

AMOS BAKER, Esq., Principal of Chapman Hall School.

Rev. J. W. OLMSTEAD, Editor of the Watchman and Reflector.

Rev. C. F. BARNARD, Warren St. Chapel.

Prof. H. B. HACKETT, Newton Theological Seminary.

Prof. ALVAH HOVEY, " " "

Rev. O. S. STEARNS, Newton Centre.

Rev. J. NEWTON BROWN, D. D., Philadelphia.

Rev. L. F. BEECHER, D. D., Principal of Saratoga Female Seminary.

Boston, May 1, 1857. 1y

HAIR DOCTRESS.

MADAME CARTEAUX

HAVING, by a long course of study and practical investigation, made herself acquainted with the various diseases incidental to the Hair and Scalp, would now inform the public of Boston and vicinity, that she trusts she is prepared to give entire satisfaction to all who may favor her with their patronage, and warrant a cure in nine cases out of ten.

Having removed from 284 to 365 Washington street, where she has a superior suite of rooms, she now advertises a *separate room* for Hair Dying, also an improvement in that branch, and Champooing.

Madame C. keeps constantly on hand, her celebrated Hair Restorative and Oils, which will not only prevent the hair from falling off, but cause new hair to grow; they are held in the highest estimation by all who have used them.

Madame C's references are from the first people in this and the neighboring cities, by whom she has been liberally patronized since the offer of her services to the public. tf April 7.

PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

JUST PUBLISHED,

THE 'PROCEEDINGS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS,' for 1857. The contents of the pamphlet are as follows: Minutes of the Meeting; Testimonies on Slavery, War, Capital Punishment, Temperance, Tobacco, Co-equality of Women, First-Day Meetings; Exposition of Sentiments; Report on Spiritualism; Correspondence—embracing Letters from affiliated associations, and from more than twenty different persons, among whom are the following, viz.: Rev. A. D. Mayo, of Albany; Rev. E. Buckingham, of Troy; Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Lynn, Mass.; Hon. J. R. Giddings; Charles K. Whipple, Francis Jackson, Rev. Samuel May, Jr., and Rev. James Freeman Clarke, of Boston; Rev. M. D. Conway, of Cincinnati; Rev. W. H. Fish, of Cortland, N. Y.; Rev. Antoinette